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Kozyrev Attends Human Rights Conference in Vienna

Forum Opening Reported

PM1506115793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Bay and Sergey Tosunyan: "World Human Rights Forum: Keen Differences Between North and South"]

[Excerpts] The world conference on human rights, in which about 3,000 delegates and observers from 183 UN countries are taking part, began work in Vienna on 14 June.

This forum for the protection of rights, the second in the century since 1948, when the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, is taking place at the foreign minister level.

Disputes and conflicts began even before the forum started. Throughout the three sessions the members of the preparatory committee were unable to agree even on the agenda for the conference. Their last meeting continued in Geneva for over three weeks but the delegates still did not reach a common denominator regarding the "universality of human rights"—a principle approved by the United Nations over 50 years ago. [passage omitted]

Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev is expected to speak on 15 June. The position of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, IZVESTIYA was told by a spokesmen, is that at the Vienna forum Russia will confirm the universality and indivisibility of human rights and will advocate the consolidation of the UN control mechanism in this field. In particular, it has supported the creation of a UN high commission on human rights, an idea that is being actively promoted by the U.S. delegation. Russia will not dictate its terms to anyone, nor will it agree with the actions of the advocates of nationalist and regional interests.

Addresses Conference on Rights Issues

LD1506225593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Video report by correspondent T. Orlova from Vienna]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is in Vienna on a working visit, spoke at the international conference on human rights which has opened here. Opposing the position of a number of Muslim states advocating special human rights for Asia, Kozyrev stressed that social backwardness is the price Russia has paid for the isolated Soviet democracy and socialist human rights, and so it has the moral right to warn against special concepts that set certain groups against others.

Kozyrev also noted that today breaches of human rights are not only taking place but are assuming menacing proportions. In this connection, Russia's program is contributing to the elaboration of an comprehensive strategy of international humanitarian cooperation. This strategy's priorities will be to combine efforts in the struggle against aggressive nationalism and to establish a set of measures to protect the rights of ethnic minorities, to protect the victims of armed conflict, and to create a special UN mechanism for the examination of emergency situations connected with crude violations of human rights.

Later Andrey Kozyrev had a talk with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali and an agreement was signed on the opening in Moscow of a joint UN mission.

Says Russia Ready To Send Military Unit to Bosnia

LD1506171493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Speaking at the world human rights conference in Vienna today, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev criticized the violation of minority rights in the Baltic states. Kozyrev said that one cannot fully recognize a democracy that is created only for the indigenous population and where national minorities are either forced out of the country or made to feel like undesirables. The Russian minister noted that this amounts to ethnic cleansing carried out, so to speak, with white gloves. Kozyrev proposed setting up an extraordinary UN mechanism for examining incidents of gross violations of human rights and creating a post of UN high commissioner on human rights.

Speaking to journalists today, Andrey Kozyrev said that Russia is prepared to send a military contingent to protect the safe havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to him, steps should be taken to halt the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavian republic, to prevent the safe havens from turning into besieged fortresses. The idea of creating such havens is the key point in the joint program approved in Washington last month by Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain. The Russian minister stated that implementation of this program should closely follow implementation of the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia.

Suggests UN, Global Monitoring Mechanisms

LD1506130393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1251 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Kuzmin and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Vienna June 15 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, speaking at the current world human rights conference here on Tuesday [15 June], outlined priorities for an overall international humanitarian cooperation strategy on the threshold of the 21st century.

The strategy predetermines, first of all, joint efforts in the fight against aggressive nationalism, as a global threat to international stability and human rights, the

minister said. The beginning of the efforts was set by a joint Russo-French initiative within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Elaborating comprehensive measures to protect the rights of ethnic minorities must become another aspect of the activities, Kozyrev said.

The adoption of an appropriate U.N. declaration would be utterly important in this respect, the Russian minister believes.

Kozyrev suggested creating a U.N. emergency mechanism to consider acute situations that arise in view of gross and massive violations of human rights and to institute the office of a U.N. high commissioner for human rights.

To protect the victims of armed conflicts is another priority in this respect, Kozyrev said. He suggested launching the formation of global and regional human rights systems to monitor the ensurance of their rights, including procedures to consider individual complaints from victims, which, in his view, would ensure the inevitability of the punishment of culprits.

The universalisation of the norms of humanitarian law is now all the more essential, for massive violations of human rights not only continue but also assume a new character and threatening proportions, the minister pointed out.

He said it is victims of aggressive nationalism that are primarily in need of protection. Doctrines that are aimed at creating "monoethnic states" in disregard of any casualties are being deliberately implemented. Ethnic purges are being practised in "white gloves", so to say, the minister emphasised.

Democracy which is being created only for the "indigenous" population, while members of ethnic minorities are either being edged out of the country or are put in a position of outcasts cannot be recognised as full-fledged one.

An underestimation of the threat on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in particular, costs dearly while lack of attention to the rights of ethnic minorities threatens to be detrimental to the Baltic region and actually turn Europe into an area of special standards, not higher, but lower and double ones, he said.

"We may not agree to this if only because we do not want to make such a present to the communo-fascist, red-and-brown opposition in Russia," Kozyrev emphasised.

This is why the paramount task now is to assert the highest standards of human rights throughout the former Soviet Union. An active work to reassert belief in basic human rights, dignity and the value of the human personality is being done within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Russian minister said in conclusion.

Discusses Peacekeeping With Butrus-Ghali

LD1506184893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1756 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Kuzmin and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Vienna June 15 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, currently here on an official visit, met United Nations Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali here today within a framework of the World Conference on Human Rights.

The sides discussed the situation around former Yugoslavia and further possible steps to settle the conflict. The U.N. secretary-general suggested that all countries, participating in the Yugoslav crisis settlement, increase the contingent of their peace-makers sent to the area. In this connection, he raised the question of the increase of the Russian contingent. Bearing in mind Russia's role in solution to the Yugoslav problem, any increase, even symbolic, of its peace-making contingent would serve as an example to other states, noted Butrus-Ghali.

In his turn, the Russian minister said Russia is not against this increase, but on condition of a corresponding resolution of the Security Council. The Russian military contingent is already in Croatia waiting for "specification of the mandate", the more so they speak of certain modification of the Vance-Owen plan, noted Kozyrev. A resolution of the Russian parliament enables the Russian side to send a large contingent to the area.

In this connection Kozyrev raised the question of creation of a special fund to finance peace-keeping operations in the Commonwealth, since Russia now carries main spending on the operations.

The sides also exchanged opinion on the situation in Tajikistan, Georgia and the Middle East. Butrus-Ghali and Andrey Kozyrev signed an agreement on creation of a united U.N. representation in Moscow.

Meets Israel's Peres, PLO's 'Arafat

LD1506213393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2033 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kuzmin]

[Text] Vienna June 16 TASS—Andrey Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister, continued bilateral meetings within the framework of the World Conference on Human Rights on Tuesday [15 June].

He held talks with Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres and Yasir 'Arafat, head of the Executive Committee of the PLO. They exchanged opinions on the complex of problems on the regulation in the Middle East.

Russian minister met also with Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka, the sides discussed some issues concerning bilateral Russo-Belarusian relations.

Vorontsov Reminds Senator Kerry of Nuclear Commitment

PM1506092593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Own Information report: "Planting of 'Nuclear Mushrooms' Must Be Postponed. Appeal to B. Clinton"]

[Text] In connection with U.S. President Bill Clinton's recent statement regarding the possibility of the United States' resuming nuclear testing, Nikolay Vorontsov, president of the "GLOBE-Russia" (the Global Legislators' Organization for a Balanced Environment) interparliamentary committee, sent a letter to Senator John Kerry, president of "GLOBE-U.S.A."

In his message he pointed out that this decision by the White House head not only could end the U.S. moratorium on U.S. nuclear testing announced last year, but would also automatically set a precedent enabling other states to resume testing. In this connection the insistent efforts by legislators, scientists, nongovernment organizations, and citizens of other countries pressing for talks among all the nuclear powers on a universal, total ban on testing would prove pointless.

The president of "GLOBE-Russia" drew his U.S. counterpart's attention to the fact that the GLOBE General Assembly adopted a document last year in Lisbon calling for the universal banning of nuclear tests. On behalf of Russian members of parliament he asked that the contents of his letter should be properly considered in the light of this militarily and environmentally tricky and delicate problem.

Chernomyrdin's Delayed U.S. Visit Seen as Tactical Move

MK1506094093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 4

[Mikhail Shchipanov commentary under "Political Lobbies" rubric: "Chernomyrdin in No Hurry To Travel Across the Ocean"]

[Text] The postponement of high-level visits in Russia is becoming, if not an old tradition, then a good one. Just in the last few months President Yeltsin has twice canceled his visit to Japan and once to Denmark.

Now Premier Chernomyrdin has begun his working week not in Washington, but rather in Moscow. In America the premier was to have taken part in sessions of the Russian-U.S. commission on fuel and energy. The travel of such leaders over considerable distances, however, is always accompanied by the execution of several missions at a time and, therefore, depends on the entire complicated context of bilateral relations. This "general context" has obviously now let the premier down.

The official explanation for the postponement is the ongoing strained session of the constitutional conference where the president simply needs the shoulder of the premier, who, apart from other things, is coordinator of one of the working groups. That tricky "context," however, is an open secret. Russia is ready to sacrifice V. Chernomyrdin's travel impressions to express (or indicate) to the United States its discontent over the unflagging U.S. aversion to the well-known Russian-Indian deal. Remember the scandal over the sale of cryogenic rocket engines to Delhi, which a year ago the Americans saw as a threat of strategic technology being transferred to a unreliable state which had not signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. It would seem that much water has since flowed under the bridges of the Ganges. The president went to India and not only drew inspiration from the prospects of trade in Russian armaments, but stated firmly, concerning the engines of discord, that no one would be allowed to dictate to Russia. Moscow then offered to the Americans its guarantees of control preventing even theoretical use of the engines to create long-range military carriers. It might seem that the conflict was resolved (surely, there are not a few points of convergence between Moscow and Washington, if the Foreign Ministry's words can be trusted), but no, the Yankees still would not budge.

The real problem is not the deal itself against which, incidentally, we have already received nearly $100 million worth of payments. At stake is a superpower's prestige which, in skillful hands, can achieve dividends and also consolidate general trust in Russia as a trade partner. Last year the country failed to achieve satisfactory results in the area of arms trade. It is rumored that G. Khizha's resignation was connected with the frustrated illusions in the sphere of the "death merchants' business." And on top of that, the Americans are ready (obviously not without an ulterior motive) to present Moscow as not an independent trade agent.

Therefore, the most important thing for Russia now is not to yield in the protracted duel with the Yankees, who are acting on the "we'll get you by hook or by crook" principle. Offer any safe guarantees of control over technology sold abroad, but to retreat may be fatal. Incidentally, the Americans have tried more than once to use the same tactics to thwart the deals of their closest partners, in particular the French, when they affected the markets on which they themselves were eyeing. Therefore, so far Chernomyrdin's visit has only been postponed till the end of the month....

Consulate in San Francisco Aims To Start 'Diaspora' Link

PM1506110193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 7

[Sergey Stupar report: "They Have Found Their Motherland Again. Russian Americans Unite to Assist Russia"]

[Text] Russia's return to the world path of social development in recent years is stirring the hearts of millions of Russian people. The holding of a conference of Russian

communities in the San Francisco Bay area in the United States was a significant event in this connection.

The Russian Consulate General in San Francisco initiated this forum, and the meeting was held on its premises.

Our American compatriots received with great enthusiasm a greetings message to the conference from Sergey Stankevich, adviser to the Russian Federation president, who expressed the hope in the message, on behalf of the Russian president and government, that "our compatriots in the United States will participate in the rebirth of their historical homeland, which they have now acquired again after a long period of uncertainty."

G.B. Avisov, who was recently elected chairman of the All-America "Congress of Russian Americans" organization, particularly stressed the importance of uniting the Russian diaspora with the homeland.

As a result, the conference adopted a decision to create a Russian-American chamber of commerce in San Francisco with the aim of promoting Russian-American trade and economic cooperation. An agreement was also reached with the Russian Consulate General on holding art exhibitions and performances by artists and musical collectives from Russia at the Russian center in San Francisco. The sides expressed the desire to make a tradition of the participation of one or two artistic collectives from Russia in an annual festival of Russian culture in San Francisco in February.

Security Ministry on Discovery of Foreign Agents

LD1606012593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0015 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jun—The Russian Security Ministry's military counterintelligence directorate discovered 11 foreign special service agents among Russian servicemen in 1992 alone. Military counterintelligence officers prevented the export from Russia of strategic materials, raw materials, and goods worth more than 6 billion rubles, 220 million German marks, and 480,000 U.S. dollars. A KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent was told this by Lieutenant General Aleksey Molyakov, head of the Russian Federation Security Ministry's military counterintelligence directorate.

"Foreign states' special services not only continue to conduct intelligence activities against our Army, but they are stepping them up. These are not my own subjective opinions, but reality," the general said.

Espionage, according to A. Molyakov, is helped, first and foremost, by the ongoing critical situation in our society, its extreme openness for special services as a result of the practical abolition of administrative regimes, the worsening of the social and living problems of servicemen, and the erosion of some servicemen's patriotic feelings.

"Today special service agents are most interested in changes in the Russian leadership's military policy, the reform of Russia's Armed Forces, the functioning of major headquarters, and the military readiness of troops and naval forces.

"The efforts of foreign states' special services are currently concentrated on obtaining information about nuclear weapon control and monitoring systems and scientific and technical developments in the sphere of inventing the latest weaponry and military equipment."

Speaking about spies who have been detained, Gen. Molyakov stated that in recent years in the central apparatus of the Defense Ministry alone, eight agents of the United States' special services have been discovered "who caused considerable damage to the security and defense capabilities of our homeland." In 1992, on the basis of military counterintelligence materials, criminal proceedings were instigated in 41 cases against 66 officers and generals (in 1990, 19 people were convicted, and in 1991 32 people).

Yeltsin To Meet Kravchuk 17 Jun, Visit Yakutia 18 Jun

LD1506105493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1030 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] According to the press service of the Russian president, the Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk is coming to Moscow on 17 June. His talks with the Russian leader Boris Yeltsin will begin the same day. The summit's agenda includes resolving relations between Russia and Ukraine, which have worsened recently over the Black Sea Fleet. Several other matters that have also cast a shadow over Russian-Ukrainian ties are to be discussed. The following day, 18 June, Russia's President Boris Yeltsin will fly to Yakutia.

Context of Summit Viewed

PM1506114793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko commentary: "Russia-Ukraine: Difficult Dialogue Ahead. Eve of Summit Meeting"]

[Text] Russian and Ukrainian leaders always have enough problems for a businesslike discussion, but the main reason for the latest summit meeting was the events in the Black Sea squadron of the Ukrainian Navy, where over 200 ships and auxiliary vessels hoisted the St. Andrew's Flag. The local military authorities did not delay in depriving the "insurgent" crews of all pay and demanding their withdrawal from Ukrainian territorial waters. A further escalation of these actions will lead directly to another round of confrontation and may have unpredictable consequences.

Needless to say, the leaders of both countries cannot allow events to take that course. Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev flew to Ukraine on the Russian president's instructions. He was received by Leonid Kravchuk and visited Sevastopol with his Ukrainian counterpart and analyzed the situation on the spot.

It was thought that enough material had been collected to adopt a joint decision on settling the fleet's problems. The site of the meeting has already been decided—Odessa, from where Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk were to have traveled around Black Sea Fleet naval bases on a motor ship as far as Novorossiysk. But new circumstances emerged requiring prompt intervention from the supreme leadership of both states.

One of these is the miners' strike that began in the Donbass and acquired the nature of a Ukraine-wide strike. Collectives from 208 out of 250 mines, along with personnel from around 100 enterprises in other sectors, have joined the protest action against Kiev's economic policy. They are demanding the resignation of Leonid Kuchma's government and an all-Ukrainian referendum on the reform program. Working people from oblasts near the Donbass have backed the strikers. Thus, at a large rally in Kharkov personnel from a local tractor plant voiced their negative view of the Kuchma government. Like the collectives at another 10 major enterprises in the city they have been virtually standing idle for weeks now because it is impossible to organize production.

The following facts indicate what this "absenteeism" is costing the republic. In the three days of the strike, 600,000 tonnes of coal have not been extracted, equivalent to around 300,000 tonnes of rolled metal in terms of the end product in the "coal-coke-metal" manufacturing chain. Given that one tonne of rolled metal costs 400,000 karbovantsy, you can imagine the losses that Ukraine is incurring at this time.

Kiev's economic difficulties are in many respects linked with the severing of Ukrainian enterprises' economic ties with their partners, primarily Russia's oil and gas complex. But Moscow is also feeling the "effect" of the crisis: Russian plants that have for decades been geared to Donetsk coal, metal from Zaporozhye, and equipment from Kramatorsk have also found themselves in an impasse.

All this has forced the presidents to change their initial plan: Instead of Odessa their meeting will take place in Moscow on 17 June. Presumably, in this case there will not only be diplomats and military men, but also the two countries' economic leaders taking part in the talks.

I would hope that the personal meeting between the national leaders of Russia and Ukraine will help not only clarify the situation regarding the Black Sea Fleet and ease the economic difficulties, but will also alleviate the unnecessary tension with regard to the two fraternal countries.

Naval Squadron To Deliver Aid, Evacuate Refugees in Georgia

LD1506141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1112 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—According to an understanding reached between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine, a Black Sea naval squadron is on its way to Tkvarcheli to participate in a peaceful operation to bring food and evacuate refugees, a spokesman at the press centre of the Russian Navy told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday [15 June].

Large amphibious ships Olshanski, the BDK-69 and the rescue tugboat Shakhyor left Sevastopol on Monday. The squadron, which is fitted out with organic weapons, is under the command of Rear-Admiral Nikolay Nikhalchenko.

According to the same source, the squadron is to arrive in Sochi on Tuesday night. The general direction of the operation is exercised by Yuriy Vorobyov, first deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations. On Tuesday he was busy discussing conditions for the passage and mooring of ships with the Abkhazian and Georgian sides and specifying a timeframe for the humanitarian operation.

In all, according to the plan, the ships are to deliver 30 Kamaz trucks with 215 tonnes of food and evacuate 2,500 refugees to Sochi.

Aid Delivery Operation to Georgia Amended

LD1506222993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2042 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 16 TASS—Loading of humanitarian aid for Tkvarcheli and Sukhumi residents on a large landing ship continues at the Sochi sea port. The scheduled time for the ship's departure is the afternoon of June 16.

The medium landing ship left Sochi for Gudauta at 10 p.m. on Tuesday [15 June]. Under plans of the State Committee for Emergency Situations' operative team, the ship will take on board armored vehicles in the morning of June 16. The ship is expected to arrive in Sukhumi on Wednesday afternoon to take on board approximately 400 people and return to Sochi.

If the operation follows the schedule, the ship will arrive in Sochi on Wednesday night.

Sources at the State Committee on Emergency Situations' press service told ITAR-TASS, under an agreement operative team head General Sergey Kudinov submitted to the command of Abkhazian warring sides a detailed plan of the operation on the humanitarian aid delivery and evacuation of civilians from Tkvarcheli and Sukhumi.

The first stage of the operation—sea delivery of cargo to Sukhumi—was approved by both sides. As for the second stage—truck movement from Sukhumi to

Tkvarcheli via Ochamchira—the Georgian side suggested to correct the route and cut the distance by 30 kilometers.

The proposal is being coordinated with the Abkhazian military authorities, said the press service.

Russian, Kazakh Power Ministers Discuss Problems

LD1506222193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Video report by correspondent V. Martynov, including recording of remarks by Russian Fuel and Power Engineering Minister Yuriy Shafranik and Kazakh Minister of Fuel and Power Engineering Kadyr Baykenov—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Martynov] A working conference at the level of the ministers of power engineering of Russia and Kazakhstan is taking place in Moscow. One of the main problems is payments, or rather non-payments. The Mangyshlak Oil Association has not received 30 billion rubles [R] for its output, while enterprises in the Russian fuel and power complex are owed R3.2 trillion, with R1 trillion not having been received over the past six weeks alone. Devising price-forming mechanisms, mutual accounting, and understanding that it is impossible to exist without one another are the main problems still existing.

Just one example: The Urals cannot work without coal from Ekibastuz, and there is nowhere to export that coal from Kazakhstan to apart from the Urals. An agreement on cooperation between the ministries was signed today.

[Shafranik] To make, through mixing and through joint ownership, integrated companies that will link the economies of the two states and will enable us to avoid erecting a border. [sentence as heard]

[Baykenov] In that respect, the economy should correct the politicians, who are trying to make everything go in different directions.

[Martynov] The signing of an inter-governmental agreement is planned for tomorrow.

Energy Cooperation Agreement Signed With Kazakhstan

LD1606015393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In Moscow today, an agreement was signed on cooperation between the Energy Ministries of Russia and Kazakhstan. Disruption of communications between our countries and especially between banking systems has led to payments for oil and petroleum products being delayed for several months at a time and debts are reaching astronomical sums. The agreement envisages the working out of a mechanism of account clearing between Russia and Kazakhstan, the creation of joint enterprises, and further development of integration of the fuel and energy complexes. The signing of intergovernmental agreements is planned for tomorrow.

Yeltsin Press Secretary Commends Aliyev Election

LD1506224193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] There has already been an official reaction from Moscow to the events in Azerbaijan. Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, considers that Aliyev is an experienced and authoritative politician, well acquainted with the special characteristics of the republic, and understanding the Azerbaijani clans. His coming to power will assist in the normalization of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, as well as improving relations with Russia, Kostikov said in an interview with an Ekho Moskvy radio station correspondent.

Commander Complains of 'Uncivilized' Latvian Actions

PM1506123393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 3

[Report by Igor Golin of Northwestern Group of Forces Press Center: "Russian Servicemen's Apartments Continue To Be Seized in Riga. Protests Against Uncivilized Actions Are Still Being Ignored"]

[Text] Housing is being seized by armed members of the home guard (Zemessargi) and representatives of an air subunit of Latvia's defense forces. In addition, the council of Riga's Z emgale suburb has, without authorization, moved people into a new 40-apartment block in the residential district of Ziyepniyekkalns [name as transliterated], which was constructed at the expense of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense.

Colonel General Leonid Mayorov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, has sent an official letter to Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, protesting the uncivilized means of resolving property problems. At the same time the residents of the city district of Purvciems have addressed a statement to the local authorities, the prosecutor's office, the Latvian Defense Ministry, the commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, and Aleksandr Rannikh, the Russian Federation's ambassador to Riga. The statement's authors (more than 250 signatures) ask the Russian Federation ambassador to Latvia to bring the facts to the notice of the president and the Supreme Soviet of Russia and ask the commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces to protect the families of Russian Army servicemen and military pensioners from arbitrary treatment.

CIS Partners' Debt To Russian Enterprises Must Be Settled

PM1606092593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Report from "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" column]

[Text] Igor Shurchkov, chairman of the Russian Committee for Industrial Policy, has voiced the opinion that the bankruptcy procedure for Russian enterprises will come into force by the end of June.

He said that the state must, as a preliminary measure, settle accounts with sectors in the budget sphere and resolve the question of mutual transactions with the CIS countries. I. Shurchkov reported that Commonwealth partners' debt to Russian enterprises totals approximately 1.2 trillion rubles.

Kozyrev Discusses Yeltsin Visit, Bosnian Settlement in Athens

PM1506185793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Maksim Yusin report: "Boris Yeltsin's Athens Visit To Start 30 June"]

[Text] Athens-Vienna—Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Greece, long promised and repeatedly postponed, will be held 30 June through 1 July. This was announced at the end of talks between Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian foreign policy department, and Greek leaders.

On 14 June, the last day of his visit to Athens, Kozyrev met with President Konstandinos Karamanlis, Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, and Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou. Preparation for the presidential visit was the main item on the agenda.

During Boris Yeltsin's trip five Russian-Greek documents are to be signed, including a treaty on the basic principles of bilateral relations, which has not yet received its final title. Furthermore, agreements on the inadmissibility of dual taxation and the protection of investments are being readied for signing.

Among the regional conflicts, main attention was paid to Yugoslavia. "Moscow's and Athens' positions are surprisingly close" was how one member of the Russian delegation summed up the results of the talks. The Greek leadership, which does not specially hide its pro-Serb sympathies, regarded with approval the initiative for a settlement in Bosnia expounded by Kozyrev.

The minister mentioned in passing certain points in the plan, which has not been made public yet, when conversing with journalists on the plane from Athens to Vienna. As could be construed from his words, it involves modifications to the Vance-Owen plan. It offers the opportunity to meet certain territorial demands on the part of the Bosnian Serbs and thereby persuade them to revise their attitude to the peace plan.

The topic of Macedonia, which kicked off virtually all talks with the Greeks last year, took a back seat. Athens' irritation since Moscow's recognition of that republic has gradually subsided. For its part, Russian diplomacy has somewhat softened its approach.

In his speeches and interviews Kozyrev avoids calling the "Republic of Skopje" Macedonia, preferring the UN-proposed compromise term of "former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia." Russia is in no hurry to open an embassy in Skopje and does not, by all accounts, intend to support the Macedonians in their dispute with the Greeks. This delicacy has been appreciated in Athens, and the conflict in connection with the recognition of Macedonia may clearly be regarded as closed.

Kozyrev, Austria's Vranitzky Discuss Relations, Bosnia

LD1606090493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0820 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Alexander Kuzmin and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Vienna June 16 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is currently in Austria on an official visit, had a meeting with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky here on Wednesday [16 June]. They discussed a wide range of bilateral Russo-Austrian relations and the most acute international and regional problems and, first of all, the situation in Bosnia.

The two sides exchanged views on the proceedings of the world human rights conference here.

Gorbachev Wants Early Russian Elections

LD1506220393 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 2100 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who is visiting Stockholm, wants democratic elections in Russia as soon as possible. Gorbachev met Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas, among others, and expressed his concern that Russia will disintegrate. Gorbachev also met Social Democratic Party Leader Ingvar Carlsson today.

Sweden To Hand Hijackers Over to Russia

PM1606102593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Marat Zubko: "Hijackers Will Be Tried in Russia"]

[Text] Stockholm—The Swedish Government has finished dealing with the case of the air terrorists Tamerlan and Marina Musayev, deciding to hand them over to the authorities of Russia, on whose territory this Baku couple committed the crime—hijacking a scheduled Tu-134 passenger aircraft flying from Tyumen to St. Petersburg and taking it to Sweden on 20 February.

"The Musayevs were upset by the announcement they would be extradited to Russia," your correspondent was told at the Swedish police department. "Marina tried to inflict a serious injury on herself. She is now in the sick bay. As for Tamerlan, he is being kept under special observation in a remand prison cell."

Let me recall that the Musayevs decided to become hijackers because they were very anxious to leave for "rich and free America." During their interrogation they told the Swedish police that tickets are now so expensive that you have to work for many years to afford them. The Musayevs did not intend to stop in Sweden. The point is that the Tu-134 is not capable of flying across the ocean, so that in Arlanda the Baku couple demanded a different aircraft.

But criminal police inspector N.G. Danielsson, who spent over five hours talking to the hijackers, managed to persuade them to surrender.

In contrast to previous hijacks of passenger aircraft in 1990, that is at the time of the Soviet Union, Swedish public opinion now, to judge by items in the country's mass media, as a whole shares the view of the Supreme Court and government regarding the need to hand over the Musayevs to Russia.

Armed Forces Chief Arrives in Finland

LD1506193493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1636 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki June 15 TASS—Russian Army Commander-in-Chief Colonel-General Vladimir Semyonov arrived here today on an official visit at the invitation of Finnish Armed Forces General Staff head Lieutenant-General Gustav Hagglund.

Today he was received by Finnish Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief Admiral Jan Klenberg.

During the three day visit the Russian delegation will visit a number of garrisons to acquaint themselves with training of Finnish soldiers and officers, including future members of U.N. peace-keeping contingents.

Russia Prepared To Renounce Ruble Stabilization Fund

PM1506100793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Report by Aleksandr Shalnev: "Russia Prepared To Renounce $6 Billion in Favor of CIS States"]

[Text] Russia is prepared in principle to renounce the $6 billion stabilization fund, promised to it nearly 18 months ago but not yet allocated, in favor of other countries of the former Union which could use these funds to finance their own balance of payments.

I was told by Konstantin Kagalovskiy, director of the IMF from Russia, that the IMF is already discussing our proposal on this score at various levels—although not formally, it is true.

As far as I understand it, Moscow's readiness to renounce $6 billion is by no means caused by the fact that there seem to be virtually no prospects of receiving this money, which we would have to use to support a more or less stable ruble exchange rate. There are prospects: K. Kagalovskiy believes that Russia would receive this money next year.

But in a situation in which, to use the words of the IMF's Russian director, Moscow "is very worried that the CIS countries have nothing with which to pay Russia for oil deliveries," it would obviously be far more expedient and far more important to make this money work for us right now and not in six or 12 months. According to estimates, $6 billion together with additional credits and loans, including from the recently created IMF "systems transformations fund" and through G-7 channels, will enable the CIS countries to somewhat improve their balance of payments and settle accounts with Russia for oil and oil products far more promptly and fully.

It is by no means ruled out that the question of this use of the stabilization fund will be on the agenda of the session of the IMF directors council, provisionally scheduled for 2 July. The main question at this session, as far as I understand it, will be the question of allocating to Russia the first $1.5 billion from the "systems transformations fund." IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus promised that this $1.5 billion—of the total of $3 billion due to us—will be provided as early as June, but he suddenly began to delay the implementation of this promise.

Informed sources indicate that by using these delaying tactics Camdessus is trying to deny suggestions which sometimes sound like accusations—that the fund is "dancing to Russia's tune." Not to the tune of the United States or West Europe but to Russia's tune.

But if we look into the matter, there are grounds for such suggestions: The creation of the "systems transformations fund" was achieved through very serious pressure from Moscow, supported by Washington. Having created this special fund the IMF, in fact, disregarded its own principles: It agreed to earmark credits even BEFORE the recipient countries, that is Russia and the other CIS republics, had met traditionally tough requirements and terms. And the result is that although the credit of $4 billion promised to us nearly a year ago has been left hanging in the air and we have received just $1 billion from it—precisely because Russia is so far unable to meet the traditional package of requirements—Moscow will nonetheless get its own back through the "systems transformations fund" in which the terms for supplying credits are incomparably more lenient and simpler.

Outmaneuvering the apparatchiks of the IMF, whom few governments can withstand, is a supremely complicated task and it has been resolved by Moscow, which has given rise to the accusations of "dancing to Moscow's tune."

The inclination of the IMF managers to display their character in these conditions and to delay the final solution of the question of "easier" loans has given rise to keen demarches from Moscow and Washington. Taking what is in general an unprecedented step, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen recently publicly criticized Michel Camdessus by name for delaying the allocation of the first $1.5 billion to Russia. As I understand it, the IMF managing director was also "strictly reprimanded"—although privately, not publicly—by Russian director Konstantin Kagalovskiy.

All the signs are that at the session of the Directors Council which will probably take place even earlier than 2 July the "case of the $1.5 billion" will be finally settled.

Kozyrev Talks With Christopher, Hurd on Bosnia

PM1506133493 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "In Athens They Tried To Persuade Moscow To Send 'Blue Helmets' to Bosnia"]

[Text] Athens—In Athens the foreign ministers of the 16 NATO states and their counterparts from the former Soviet republics and East European countries took part in a session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council.

The main question on the agenda of the Athens meeting was the coordination of peacemaking efforts in Europe's trouble spots, primarily the Balkans. In Athens, Andrey Kozyrev met with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and British Foreign Secretary D. Hurd. They discussed mainly four questions—Yugoslavia, Russian-Ukrainian relations and the situation over Kiev's ratification of the START I Treaty, preparation for the Tokyo G-7 meeting with the participation of President Yeltsin, and the situation in Abkhazia.

The latter topic did not arise by chance: The Russian minister has just returned from Tbilisi, Gudauta, and Sukhumi. According to the diplomats present at the talk, Kozyrev imparted to Christopher his "gloomy impressions" and described the situation as "extremely serious."

With regard to Yugoslavia both Christopher and Hurd tried to ascertain Moscow's intentions—does it intend to send peacekeeping forces to Bosnia? When a few weeks ago in Washington the five members of the UN Security Council adopted a joint declaration on the situation in the Balkans, it seemed that the question of Russian servicemen's participation in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia had been decided. But later, under pressure from the Defense Ministry, the Russian leadership changed its approach. The military is skeptical about sending Russian "blue helmets" to Sarajevo or other cities under siege from the Serbs. Until the peace plan has been accepted by all warring sides our soldiers and officers are subjected to too great a risk, Pavel Grachev's entourage believes.

A more restrained stance was adopted on Smolensk Square. "The question of sending Russian peacekeeping forces to Bosnia [sentence as published] At this stage we will most likely restrict ourselves to a 'blue helmets' battalion stationed in Croatia," a high-ranking diplomat said. In his opinion, the international community must first elaborate a clear program of actions to settle the conflict.

At the press conference at the end of the talks the U.S. secretary of state made it clear that the "blue helmets'" operations in Bosnia will most likely proceed without the Russians' participation. Nor will there be any Americans. Washington's position, refusing to send its troops to the conflict zone, remains unchanged.

Further Round of Trade Talks With EC Completed

PM1606090793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 3

[Vladimir Peresada report: "We Seek Partnership"]

[Text] Brussels, 14 June—The fifth and latest round of talks has been held at the EC's Brussels headquarters, where the preparation of an agreement on partnership and cooperation between the EC and Russia is being prepared. The Western press was not ruling out the possibility that it could be the last round and that the finished project could be signed during the upcoming meeting of EC countries' heads of state and government in Copenhagen.

"We have never limited ourselves in terms of rounds," K. Ivanov, head of the Russian Federation delegation and first deputy chairman of the Russian International Cooperation and Development Agency, said in answer to my "Copenhagen question." "Of course we are in favor of the speediest conclusion of the agreement, but it must be really qualitatively new in comparison with the 1989 treaty. The Russian representatives have set themselves the future aim of creating a joint free trade zone with the EC and establishing a date for the beginning of talks on this. The EC has theoretically agreed to incorporate this aim in the draft agreement, but it has "not reached a decision" yet as regards a specific date.

Fedorov Meets With Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister

Discusses Privatization Fund

OW1506143893 Tokyo KYODO in English 1352 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 15 KYODO—Russia's Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov told a senior Japanese

diplomat Tuesday [15 June] that Moscow has compiled specific measures to promote privatization of state-run enterprises.

In a meeting with Japan's Deputy Foreign Minister Koichiro Matsuura, Fedorov said that the steps were drawn up three days ago. Specifically, they apportion responsibility for bankrupt enterprises and loan methods for banks, Japanese officials said.

The United States, during a meeting in Tokyo in April of Group of Seven (G-7) foreign and finance ministers, proposed establishing a 4 billion dollar fund to help privatize Russia's state industries. European nations were cool to the idea and Japan stayed neutral.

Fedorov told Matsuura he wants to speed up preparations for the July 7-9 Tokyo summit of the seven economic powers, the officials said.

The proposed privatization fund is expected to be high on the agenda at the Tokyo summit. Matsuura was scheduled to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin later in the day.

Discusses Tokyo Meeting in Jul

LD1506205893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1909 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—Russian Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance Boris Fedorov held negotiations with Deputy Japanese Foreign Minister Koichiro Matsuura here today on preparations for the Tokyo "seven" meeting scheduled for July 8-9 with participation of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The almost 90-minute talks dwelt on a number of technical aspects of preparations for the Tokyo meeting and discussed disputable issues to be settled before the conference.

The sides raised the question of creating a fund for assistance to Russian privatization to an amount of four billion U.S. dollars proposed by the United States. European nations advocate technical assistance to Russian privatization without the fund creation. The Japanese official was informed of the Russian stand based on the U.S. project of fund creation.

They also discussed Russian cooperation with the International Monetary Fund [IMF]. Fedorov informed Matsuura of Russia's relations with the IMF and stressed "the Russian Government expects the Tokyo meeting to boost Russian work with the International Monetary Fund".

The negotiations also discussed nuclear safety, including nuclear productions and their discharges into the environment.

Yeltsin Receives Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister

LD1506195993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1703 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation recieved Koichiro Matsuura, deputy foreign minister of Japan, in Kremlin on Tuesday [15 June]. The Russian president's press service reports that issues concerning Russia's participation in the forthcoming G-7 meeting in June, 1993 in Tokyo were discussed.

Russia, Japan To Collaborate on 'Space Plane' Engine

PM1506150793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under "Scientific and Technical News, Including Military News, from Abroad" rubric: "Engine for 'Space Plane' of 21st Century"]

[Text] A passenger jet "space plane" of the 21st century, whose engine will be developed jointly by Japanese and Russian specialists, will be able to fly at a speed between seven and 10 times the speed of sound and at something like 100 km from the earth's surface. E. Ono, president of the Japanese Association of Aerospace Equipment Producers, has said that it is proposed to create this engine within roughly 20-30 years.

A memorandum signed in Moscow by the two sides is the first step along the path of cooperation in this sphere. The document provides for cooperation in areas such as the exchange of information, the development of mutual contacts with a view to joint activity, and the training in Japan of high-class Russian management cadres in the sphere of civil aviation. The Japanese side is also expected to be able to use Russian test equipment, particularly at the Zhukovskiy Central Aerohydrodynamics Institute, because, as Ono admits, "Japan does not possess such excellent equipment."

Speculation Around PRC Premier's Illness Viewed

PM1506103593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Skosyrev report: "Mystery of Premier Li Peng"]

[Text] Beijing—At diplomatic receptions and briefings for journalists in Beijing the hottest topic of debate has been the future of Prime Minister Li Peng. He disappeared from television 24 April and has not reappeared since, although messages to leaders of other states do sometimes bear his name.

What has happened to the head of government? The official story has it that he caught a cold and is now recuperating. If you consider that this has taken over six weeks, the host of rumors should not be a source of

surprise. One story has it that 65-year old Li Peng has suffered an infarct, another a stroke.

In an attempt to find out the truth, foreign reporters asked the official Foreign Ministry spokesman why China, unlike many other states, does not publish regular bulletins when one of the country's leaders is unwell. The correspondents received the following response: "Different countries act differently. There is no point in striving for uniformity. Stop engaging in conjecture, that's all."

In other words the Foreign Ministry spokesman reiterated the familiar argument: Don't impose alien usages on a country that is building socialism with a Chinese brandmark. According to that logic, China's specific trait consists in its citizens not wanting to know what has happened to the head of their government.

As we well know from our own experience, when the authorities "hold back" information, this turns against them. The same thing is happening in China. Li Peng's long absence has given rise to the hypothesis that the party central committee has decided to seek a replacement for him on political grounds. The point is that the premier, who in June 1989 gave permission for troops to be used against student demonstrations in Beijing, is not very popular even among ruling circles. It was not insignificant that over 10 percent of deputies at a recent parliament session voted against him or abstained.

Whether the conjecture about the decline of Li Peng's career is right or not, it is now obvious that Jiang Zemin, CPC general secretary and PRC president, plays the main role on the political scene. He meets virtually every day with administrators of varying ranks, generals, and foreign guests. People here believe that it is Jiang who holds the reins of power in the vast country.

However, an answer to the Li Peng mystery may come early next week when Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed comes to visit Beijing. If the Chinese leader receives him, that will mean that he is still "afloat." However, in the opinion of well-informed sources, illness will not enable him to fully perform the duties of head of government.

Ship Escapes Seizure in East China Sea

LD1606083593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0713 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniya Lents]

[Text] Vladivostok June 16 TASS—The Russian motorship Kovdor was attacked in East China Sea last night on its way from Vladivostok to the Chinese port of Shantou. According to Kovdor skipper Vladimir Strelets, when the motorship was passing through a large concentration of Chinese fishing boats, quite of a sudden a seiner at a large speed headed for the Russian motorship.

While the seiner was approaching the ship, Chinese fishermen began changing into the uniform of border guards of their country. The attackers, threatening to use firearms, ordered the ship to accept a seizure party, but the Russian motorship managed to evade a rendez-vous and sped away from pursuit.

Unfortunately, the Far Eastern Sea Shipping Company, where the motorship is registered, would hardly be able to lodge a complaint with the Chinese side because the attacking seiner had no identification marks.

However, on Wednesday Anatoliy Sidorenko, the company's deputy chief in charge of navigation safety, and Vyacheslav Bakanovich, chief of the Far Eastern Rescue Coordination Centre, applied for help to the navy men.

Vice-Admiral Yegor Khmelnov, first deputy commander of the Pacific Fleet, said he is no less indignant at such sallies (in all, 14 incidents with the participation of Chinese have occurred since the beginning of the year) and considers it a direct duty of the Pacific Fleet to protect the interests of Russia's merchant marine.

The Pacific Fleet Command decided to request the defence minister, the fleet commander-in-chief, and the Government of Russia to grant powers to them to enable them to uphold Russia's national interests and protect navigation safety in the Yellow and East China Seas.

Consul in Shanghai Cited on Release of Russian Trawler

PM1606093993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Vladimir Skosyrev: "Trawler Soyuz-4 Released"]

[Text] Beijing—It looks as though the extraordinary incident involving the Russian fishing trawler Soyuz-4 that was stopped by a Chinese military cutter in the open sea and escorted to China has ended favorably.

IZVESTIYA was told by Boris Chaplin, Russian general consul in Shanghai, that the Zhejiang Province office [kontselyariya] had informed him that the large refrigerated fishing trawler had set sail 12 June at 1900 hours Moscow time. All 39 crew members are on board. They are in good health. The trawler was refueled and provided with drinking water beforehand.

The circumstances of our ship's "capture" are known from radio and television reports. But how does the Chinese side justify it? So far our general consulate in Shanghai has only verbal information conveyed to it by the government of Zhejiang Province. According to this information, the Russian crew was arrested on smuggling charges. When the Chinese authorities released the ship, which had been taken to Puto Island, our seamen allegedly welcomed this decision gratefully.

Whether that is so or not it is obvious that Russia's diplomatic efforts played a part in the rapid settling of the incident. Having received news of the incident, our official representatives immediately made a request to

the relevant PRC authorities and demanded information about the fate of the crew. Some 36 hours later the Zhejiang Province government confirmed that the Soyuz-4 was indeed under guard in Chinese territorial waters. Then the general consulate in Shanghai asked for its staffers to be given the opportunity to meet with the Russian fishermen.

Consent was given for the meeting and the Russian diplomats set off. But before they got to Puto Island the Soyuz-4 had already lifted anchor...

It is to be supposed that what happened will be further discussed through diplomatic channels. There is undoubtedly food for discussion. After all, before this trawler was seized there were cases of the Chinese attacking or detaining other Russian vessels. In our issue for 1 June we described the armed seizure of the ship Pan Mari [name as transliterated] with a Russian crew in Chinese territorial waters.

Meanwhile the crew of the ship Anatoliy Vereshchagin, which was detained in the port of Yantai following a dubious action brought by a Chinese company, has decided to take its fate into its own hands. It has become known from informed sources that during the night, despite the presence of two Chinese sentries, the ship lifted anchor on its own accord and went to sea. The sentries were later transferred to a Chinese fishing schooner which they encountered.

As we can see, there are plenty of conflicts at sea. Obviously it is time to take serious steps, otherwise these clashes could affect relations between Russia and the PRC.

Human Rights Violations Occur in DPRK Forestry Work Sites

SK1506133193 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean 15 Jun 93 p 2

[By Moscow-based reporter Chang Haeng-hun]

[Text] It was confirmed by an official Russian investigation team that serious human rights violations have been committed in 16 North Korean forestry work sites in Khabarovsk, Russia.

A 10-member investigation team, including the Russian Supreme People's Congress Human Rights Committee chairman (Kovalev) and the Foriegn Ministry official in charge of human rights, conducted a field investigation of the North Korean forestry work sites of (Chekdomin) and (Birobijanji) in Khabarovsk for a week beginning 1 June. The investigation team confirmed that acts of human rights violations had taken place in these places. The investigation team is going to report the result of its investigation to the international human rights conference in Vienna.

A North Korean worker who recently escaped from the North Korean forestry work site revealed that there are prisons at each work site as well as in two work complexes and that petty criminals are imprisoned in prisons at each work site and political prisoners are imprisoned in work complexes. Human rights violations have frequently been perpetrated at these places.

The current investigation was the latest official investigation conducted by Russian authorities of the North Korean forestry work sites within Russia.

Reaction to DPRK Step To Suspend NPT Withdrawal Cited

SK1606032393 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Article by station commentator on world reaction to the DPRK's decision to put on hold its withdrawal from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty; from the "Today's World" program]

[Text] It was three months ago when Pyongyang decided to withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT]. Many countries of the world, particularly northeast Asian countries, paid deep attention to the decision at that time. Pyongyang held fast to the decision until the middle of June.

Following the four rounds of DPRK-U.S. high-level talks held recently the DPRK decided to put on hold its decision to withdraw from the NPT. Many countries in the world assessed Pyongyang's decision with satisfaction.

U.S. President Clinton said that the decision is a first step and a very important step in guaranteeing a road for North Korea's participation in the reliable international system for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Japanese Foreign Minister Muto said that Pyongyang's decision will make remarkable contributions to further alleviating the overall situation on the Korean peninsula and in Asia.

A spokesman of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomed the first affirmative result acheived between the DPRK and the United States in resolving the nucler issue on the Korean peninsula. In a statement a spokesman of the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that Seoul affirmatively assesses Pyongyang's decision.

Moscow, as well, seems to share the view of the world that Pyongyang has taken a correct decision.

The DPRK's decision has alleviated to some extent the overall situation on the Korean peninsula and in northeast Asia. However, there are still many problems in the implementation of the Pyongyang-Soeul agreement of making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone. Therefore, the two sides should demonstrate to the world once again their sincerity toward making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone. In other words, the two sides should accept the nuclear inspection of [passage indistinct].

There are still many other unsolved problems in Asia, including the Korean peninsula. In a nutshell, the road toward the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula is still not smooth.

Fedorov Discusses Debt Owed to Bulgaria

AU1506174993 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 10 Jun 93 p 10

[Interview with Boris Fedorov, Russian deputy prime minister and minister of finance, by Vasil V. Zakhariev; place and date not given: "B. Federov Says: Your Companies May Participate in the Second Stage of Our Privatization"]

[Text] [Zakhariev] Mr. Fedorov, what is the trade protocol with Russia for 1993, which is expected to be signed soon, all about?

[Fedorov] This is not the kind of agreement we signed at the time of the CEMA, when all governments were obliged to deliver certain groups of commodities. The new protocol contains general regulations on trade exchange and a specific list of the commodities that both countries would like to exchange in their mutual trade relations. The protocol contains certain obligations of the two sides related to licenses, quotas, customs, and other regulations to the implementation of which each country is obliged to contribute.

In my view, the agreements on avoiding double taxation and on protecting investment are much more important than the trade protocol as such, because they concern private trade structures and enable them to exchange goods. For the first time our protocol omits the rubric on "canned food," because it is not the government's business to care about canned food deliveries.

We should now concentrate on the problems of trade, currency, taxation, and customs regulations. I am convinced that this is precisely what we did in Sofia. We had had no agreement whatsoever since 1990. Everything started with President Yeltsin's Sofia visit, during which he pointed out that Bulgaria remains a priority partner for Russia.

The Russian-Bulgarian protocol on trade-economic cooperation is expected to be signed after our cabinet has approved it. Your government has already done so.

[Zakhariev] How are the mutual payments to be effected, according to the protocol? Has a mechanism on using national currencies been drafted?

[Fedorov] A considerable part of the payments will be effectuated in dollars and Western currencies. However, we are trying to include national currencies. Let us assume that a Bulgarian company sells medicines to Russia for rubles. The Bulgarian company can either exchange the rubles for dollars on the international currency market, or obtain Russian goods instead.

The establishment of a joint bank and the creation of a mechanism for mutual payments have already been discussed in this context. The mechanism is expected to revive our mutual trade, guarantee credit opportunities, and also to support exporting companies in both countries, which is the most important issue.

For the time being, the project of a joint bank has been discussed only in theory. The initiative group composed of Bulgarian bankers would like to set up a Bulgarian-Russian bank in Russia with a branch in Sofia. Balkanbank was at the head of this group. I supported the idea and I intend to submit the proposal to the Association of Banks in Russia so as to find the most appropriate partners.

A joint bank established in the days of the Soviet Union still exists in Sofia. It is called Bolgarsovinvest. It has now been reregistered and is expected to function as a normal Bulgarian-Russian financial enterprise. In pointing this out, I would like to say that some form of such cooperation already exists. But, perhaps, it is insufficient, and we should pool our efforts to establish new financial institutions.

[Zakhariev] What forms of trade do you consider most effective?

[Fedorov] Most effective are those under which companies can pay immediately and in cash.

[Zakhariev] You mentioned that mutual debts are among the most difficult problems in bilateral relations. What is the extent of those debts, according to Russian estimates, and how are the two countries expected to solve this particular problem?

[Fedorov] The amount of the debts is no secret. We are simply trying to specify the figures, considering that we disagree on nearly all points. Nevertheless, it is our objective, by 15 July 1993, to establish all the figures and to set up the rate against the dollar, so that we may recalculate our debts and repay them.

We are talking about 463 million [currency not specified], while the Bulgarian side insists on 500 million, or vice versa. The transferable rubles were rather dubious, having no specific value on international markets. We owe Bulgaria more than it owes us. To reduce this amount, we should add the rest of transferable rubles from the old trade relations.

For the time being, a certain rapprochement of views exists, but there are still disagreements, of course. First, we should effect payment in sectors where no controversies exist, and subsequently, we should try to repay the net amount of our remaining debts toward Bulgaria with commodity deliveries.

[Zakhariev] Can you describe the opportunities for the participation of Bulgarian companies in Russian privatization?

[Fedorov] The opportunities for participating in the initial stage of privatization are very limited, since our legislation is rather populist. I had a talk with Deputy Prime Minister Karabashev and I approve of his correct approach to the subject. The most important thing is that the enterprises should be sold to collect money for investment. A sort of free of charge distribution is currently under way in our country.

This is precisely why the participation of Bulgarian companies in our privatization can only take place in the second stage. As many as 60,000 private enterprises already exist in Russia. They have no investment, no managers, and no markets. They are eager to find partners. It is known that they are the property of 50-100 people and you can go to them and propose a cooperation scheme that is perfectly legal. The fact that the flow of information is rather sparse and companies in both our countries are not well informed on their opportunities is another question.

We renewed the agreement on Bulgaria's participation in the Yamburg gas deposits and your country is expected to be supplied with up to 3.34 billion cubic meters of gas annually until 1997. We propose that you should participate in the Surgut deposits with investment. As many as 30,000 drilling installations are stagnating in Russia, which is a great problem for us because we are losing oil. We are now trying to attract oil companies from all countries. Naturally, it is not only a question of investment. There are also some legal problems, but without money we cannot do anything. Hence, we are trying to attract all kinds of enterprises. Obligations stemming from bilateral relations would be of great advantage to us.

[Zakhariev] You are considered as one of the architects of the economic reform in your country and you are a supporter of a hardline monetary policy. To what extent have you succeeded in the struggle against inflation.

[Fedorov] Inflation has dropped from 2,500 percent to 1,000 percent. The Central Bank has accepted all our requests and the interest rate is slightly increasing. Our economic policy is very strict, and the budget deficit is below the level we set.

In the financial sector we are retaining creditlimits and are gradually creating the infrastructure of a normal economic policy. Naturally, without the resistance of the Central Bank, of certain forces in parliament, and even in the government, all these things would have proceeded at much greater speed.

[Zakhariev] The Constitutional Council convened by President Yeltsin is currently in session in Moscow. How do you expect it to influence Russia's future?

[Fedorov] I am convinced that the adoption of a new constitution, which everyone is hoping for, is likely to solve numerous problems. First, it is an opportunity for us to clarify what kind of state we are supposed to be. Second, the relations between the legislature and the executive should be specifically determined. Within the framework of the executive, the president will no longer deal with current economic tasks and is expected to act as a head of state, like your president, for example. The government will become a real government. Appointments at the Central Bank shall no longer be subject to parliamentary control. The status of the republics within the Russian Federation will also be defined.

To put it briefly, there will be more law and order. It is high time we put an end to political squabbles, it is high time for some serious work.

Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin Visits Prague

LD1506225393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2048 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy]

[Text] Prague June 16 TASS—Anatoliy Adamishin, first deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation, met with Alexandr Vondra, first deputy foreign minister of the Czech Republic, on Tuesday while paying a brief working visit to Prague. The sides exchanged opinions on the questions of bilateral relations and some issues of current international problems.

Adamishin returned to Moscow later that day.

Reliance on Foreign Assistance Criticized

MK1506115093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 65 15 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 14 Jun) p 7

[Report on interview with Vladimir Ispravnikov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, by Aleksandr Sukhoparov, of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet press service: "You Should Not Pin Your Hopes on a Kind Uncle..."]

[Text] The future of Russia's reform has often been related to the financial assistance promised by the West. It was widely talked about last year when the Gaydar government announced a course of "financial stabilization" and embarked on the path of "shock therapy." It was remembered again this spring on the eve of the April referendum, which was designed to approve the course pursued by the government. The United States, Britain, Germany, Japan, and other industrial countries came up with even larger financial contributions, identifying them personally with President Boris Yeltsin.

How did this assistance affect the state of our economy and the transformations it has been going through? In the view of Vladimir Ispravnikov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, expressed to your FEDERATSIYA correspondent, the promises of assistance have created the psychology of freeloading and hopes for "a kind uncle" who will help reform our economy. "Such expectations in the economic and business sphere," the deputy chairman of the Russian parliament said, "are fairly dangerous. They make the

future of reform entirely dependent on foreign investment. If they give us the money, the economy will move ahead; if not, we are doomed." It is noteworthy, however, that the scale of the promised assistance pales in comparison with the volume of investment actually needed to achieve financial stabilization and the restructuring of Russia's economy. For instance, over $100 million is invested annually in East Germany's economy, but the situation there remains rather difficult, although its population is much smaller than Russia's. So, if calculated on a per capita basis and set against our real requirements, the financial assistance promised by Western powers looks simply negligible. Furthermore, Russia has not actually received what it was promised. A figure of $1 to $2 billion has been mentioned, but some experts believe that the West's real investment is even smaller.

In addition, Vladimir Ispravnikov noted, "the expectations for manna to rain down on us" and hopes for "a kind uncle" deflect us from the important problem of ensuring our own economic security. In 1992, capital flight from Russia, the embezzlement of its resources, and the destruction of its industrial capacity reached a point where the losses far exceed the promised investment. As a matter of fact, I am using figures given not only by Russian specialists, but also by foreign ones. Here is just one example. According to American experts, last year a total of 11.5 million tonnes of oil were stolen from Russia—I emphasize, not exported under appropriate licenses, but stolen, smuggled out in defiance of the law—including 10 million tonnes by way of reexporting. Let us multiply this figure by $90-100 (which is the world price of one tonne of oil), and what we get is around $1 billion of net losses." This is exactly what we received from the West throughout last year—but at the same time the most valuable, non-renewable resources oozed out of the country!

Smuggling is rampant. Last year, state customs dues were not paid on two-thirds of all the oil products that left the country. Unfortunately, this year the situation has not changed for the better. Not long ago the Russian Security Ministry, under a 45-day operation called "Trawl," discovered a total of 10 billion rubles worth of goods about to be smuggled, including valuable raw materials, such as oil products, nonferrous and rare-earth metals, timber, and so forth—in other words, what could earn us hard currency and not "wooden" rubles. It is hard to imagine how many such products have been smuggled while bypassing customs controls. Unfortunately, this is only one of numerous examples of how Russia is being plundered and swindled.

Vladimir Ispravnikov pointed out two diametrically opposed approaches to the strategy of social and economic transformations in Russia. Thus, many members of the incumbent government believe that they are pursuing the course of fast reform, the so-called "shock therapy," while the conservatives allegedly propose a more time-consuming, evolutionary path modeled on "the Chinese option." "I think," Vladimir Ispravnikov said, "that the difference between the two approaches is elsewhere. The first one calls for relying on foreign assistance and ignoring our own capabilities and requirements. We can see where it is leading us: shrinking industrial and scientific capacities, the predatory plundering of natural resources, across-the-board price rises, and actual hyperinflation. As a consequence, over 90 percent of Russians have been pushed beyond the poverty line, but the hoped-for stabilization has never been achieved. Thanks to the currently pursued course, engaging in production and investing in scientific and technological progress has become unprofitable and uninteresting." And quite recently Russia was among the first in the world in terms of its capacity multiplied by its natural resources!

Another path—already trodden by Spain, Portugal, Taiwan, and many countries of Latin America—calls for a rational utilization of domestic resources, the creation of production sectors capable of recouping their costs fast, the modernization of agriculture, conversion of the military-industrial sector to civilian uses, and the straightening out of foreign trade and taxation. We, too, should create conditions so as to make investment in the domestic economy attractive for entrepreneurs. It is essential to defend their interests in front of foreign partners. Finally, reform should be socially oriented and carried out for the benefit of the majority of the population. This is not to mean that we should forgo foreign investment. On the contrary, attracting it is extremely important, but we must not rely on it alone while forgetting our own capabilities and interests.

In conclusion, Vladimir Ispravnikov once again touched on the current reform course. Apart from the results already achieved, he said, time would be another criterion for assessing these policies. Of course, the assistance promised to Russia by the G-7 countries on the eve of the April referendum looks fairly attractive, but it is known that there is a long way to go from promises to reality. "What concerns me most is not outside factors and the reliance on foreign assistance—time will tell, as the saying goes—but the advances that were given during the referendum campaign in the country. In specialists' view, if the president is to deliver on his pledges, it will take an extra 3.5 trillion rubles of financial injections into the economy. And directors of commercial banks estimated these pledges at 14 trillion rubles. I am inclined to rely on the conservative estimate, but even this amount may prove unsustainable for our budget and give rise to a new hyperinflationary spiral. Another two or three referendums of this kind and our economy will never rise to its feet again," the Supreme Soviet deputy chairman concluded.

Le Bourget Presence 'Costly Yet Worthwhile'

PM1506152993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with A.F. Voynov, chief of advertising and exhibitions department of Russian "Aviaeksport" Foreign Trade Association, by Valentin Rudenko; place and

date not given: "Le Bourget Air Show Is Costly Yet Worthwhile Thing, Russian Aircraft Builders Believe"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] On the eve of our delegation's departure for Le Bourget for the opening of the international air show, our correspondent met with Aleksandr Voynov, chief of the advertising and exhibitions department of the "Aviaeksport" Foreign Trade Association.

[Rudenko] Aleksandr Fedorovich, in what mood are Russian aircraft builders flying to France?

[Voynov] Their mood corresponds to the level and significance of this year's air show. I will remind you that shows have been held at Le Bourget in the odd-numbered years since 1904 and constitute the most prestigious and representative review of aviation equipment. We have participated in it since 1937. We demonstrated the famous ANT-25 there for the first time. It was the very aircraft that Chkalov's crew used to fly over the North Pole to America.

This year's air show is also portentous in that Russia is participating in it as a sovereign state for the first time. With an unusually broad entry, moreover. Precisely 24 aircraft of different classes and purposes will be demonstrated on the ground and in the air.

[Rudenko] What kind of machines are they, and which firms will show them?

[Voynov] I do not think it necessary to list the names of these firms, for it is sufficient to say that Russian aviation will be represented there by practically all the leading design bureaus, production plants, and scientific research institutes. Primarily, of course, by the ones whose labor created the Il-96M, Tu-204, and Yak-42A passenger liners, the Su-27 and MIG-29M fighters, the Ka-50 and Mi-28 combat helicopters, the Aviatika-900 microlight, and other Russian machines participating in the show.

In addition, our latest developments in the spheres of engine building, instrument making, aviation materials technology, etc. will be displayed in a pavilion with a total area of 2,200 square meters.

Another important detail—all CIS aircraft builders are acting as a single team at this show.

[Rudenko] Does this mean that, as before, our exhibit will include machines of the Antonov Design Bureau?

[Voynov] Yes, but, unfortunately, just one—the fire-fighting version of the AN-32.

[Rudenko] The Russian exhibit is on an impressive scale. But is there any hope that any one of the machines will create such a stir as the MiG-29 and Su-27 fighters, the MiG-31 interceptor, the Albatros A-40 amphibian, or the Mriya An-224 with Buran on board, when we showed them for the first time at international exhibitions?

[Voynov] It is a thankless and risky task to predict the success of a particular machine. I believe that the attention of the visitors to the show will be drawn, above all, to the machines which we are exhibiting at Le Bourget for the first time. They are the Il-96M passenger liner, the single-seat Ka-50 combat helicopter, the Be-32 administrative aircraft for local lines, the Mi-34 light-weight helicopter, and other machines.

But we are particularly counting on those aircraft and helicopters which are already in series production, which have made a good name for themselves in various countries, and which have prestige in the aviation world.

[Rudenko] Which machines do you have in mind?

[Voynov] I would include among them, above all, the Mi-17 and Ka-32A helicopters. There is no need to introduce these rotor-bladed workhorses. They have repeatedly demonstrated their unique qualities when fulfilling very complex operations to install and dismantle various structures, to remove valuable species of timber from mountain slopes, and to eliminate the aftermath of natural disasters in a whole number of countries.

[Rudenko] Why is our Tu-160 strategic missile carrier not participating in the exhibition? It would be the star of the show.

[Voynov] Maybe journalists would call it the star, but for sure no one would buy this bomber.

[Rudenko] If I have understood correctly, today Russian aircraft builders approach the exhibition chiefly from a commercial viewpoint.

[Voynov] Undoubtedly.

[Rudenko] In this connection how do you rate the export potential of our new Il-96M and Tu-204 passenger liners?

[Voynov] The international aircraft market is a delicate thing. Not the least role in it is played by political and economic aspects. But we look with optimism at the Il-96M and the Tu-204. Pratt and Whitney and Rolls-Royce engines have been fitted to these aircraft. Here our interests and the interests of Western aircraft builders coincide—which in turn substantially broadens the export potentials of these machines.

[Rudenko] What place does Russia hold in the market for aviation equipment today?

[Voynov] We have now been selling our aviation equipment abroad for more than 30 years. During this time we have delivered more than 6,000 aircraft and helicopters of various classes and purposes to 67 countries. Many of them have now come to the end of their life, but thousands [ne odna tysyacha] are still in use.

In addition, the aviation industry was virtually created in India with our help, and there are good repair bases in

Libya, Algeria, and Egypt. We helped to construct aviation plants in Hungary, Poland, the former Czechoslovakia, and a number of other countries. Russia has an interesting and large market in the Near East today. We see it as our task, above all, not to lose these markets. And, of course, to win new ones.

[Rudenko] Tell me, to what extent does our system of trading in aviation equipment meet world standards? Or are we going our own way here too?

[Voynov] There were certain differences before. "Aviaeksport" chiefly tackled the drawing up of government applications for deliveries of aircraft and helicopters to one country or another. The situation has now changed radically. "Aviaeksport" has commercial centers and its own offices and warehouses in 32 countries. We seek an advantageous buyer, draw up a deal in accordance with world standards and deadlines, and ensure the servicing and repair of aviation equipment which we have sold, the training of flight and technical personnel, etc.

[Rudenko] What will Russia's air program at Le Bourget include?

[Voynov] We are reckoning on showing in the air practically all the aircraft represented in our exhibit. But very little time has been allocated to the air program. Something like seven minutes per machine.

[Rudenko] Many people are asking whether we need to participate in these shows and spend a lot of money.

[Voynov] I could speak for a long time about this, but I will limit myself to a brief answer. The Le Bourget air show really is a costly but at the same time a very worthwhile thing.

Agreement Reached on Digital Communications Cable

LD1606002593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Video report by A. Balabanov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] An agreement has been signed on the joint exploitation of a future digital cable line from Russia to Japan to Korea. Also taking part in the agreement are the United States, Canada, Thailand, Singapore—in all, 17 countries have an interest in the implementation of the project. It is being implemented with the aid of a number of domestic and foreign firms without any state guarantees by the Russian Government, but all structures of the complex located on our territory and part of the 2,000-km optic fiber cable will be Russian property.

[Begin Russian Communications Minister V. Bulgak recording] Today we managed to open up the central zone of the European part of Russia, and in a year and a half we will open up the Far East and European zones. So you simply dial 8, 10, the code of the country, the town code, the telephone number code of the subscriber, and you can have free access to any country in the world. [end recording]

The start of the commercial operation of the new line is planned for 1995.

Constitutional Conference

Draft on Elections to Federal Assembly Approved

LD1606124593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Representatives of political parties and public organizations taking part in the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin have approved the draft of the main provisions of an act on elections to a supreme body of legislative power of Russia, the federal assembly. This was announced at today's news conference by Marina Kudinova, spokesperson of the public committee of the democratic organizations.

At the initiative of representatives of the public committee, amendments were passed removing restrictions on the citizenship of a candidate to the post of president of Russia and others, reports RIA.

'Unofficial' Summary of Draft

MK1506100093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 25, 15 Jun 93 (signed to press 14 Jun) p 2

[Sergey Parkhomenko report under the "Nuances" rubric: "Russia's 'Small' Constitution. A Sketch"]

[Text] The sponsors of the discussion of the "Act on the Elections to the Supreme Body of Legislative Power of the Russian Federation—the Federal Assembly" at the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin have proposed among its main provisions the following principles:

1. The Federal Assembly consists of two separate chambers—the State Duma and the Senate. The Federal Assembly will be convened 30 days after the elections held on the basis of this act, and its powers will expire upon the election of the supreme representative and legislative body on the basis of a new constitution, but not later than within two years after the date of early elections.

2. The State Duma will consist of 450 deputies, half of whom will be elected from single-mandate districts, and the other half on the basis of proportional representation according to all-Russian lists of electoral associations.

3. Each component of the Russian Federation (regardless of its status) will elect two senators from single-list, two-mandate districts.

4. The Federal Assembly will:

—adopt a new constitution of the Russian Federation;

—appoint the head of government of the Russian Federation at the recommendation of the Russian president "by a concurring decision of both chambers."

—exercise the powers assigned to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by the current Constitution.

5. Legislation adopted by the State Duma will be sent for approval to the Senate, which will have the right to send it back for review. Legislation approved by the Federal Assembly will come into full effect upon being signed by the president, who has the right to veto it within seven days. The Senate's veto may be overridden by a two-thirds majority of the State Duma; a presidential veto may be overridden by a two-thirds majority of the members of both chambers of the Federal Assembly.

The Constitution, amendments and additions to it, and also all the laws related to the federal structure of the state will be adopted by a qualified majority of both chambers of the Federal Assembly.

6. Russian Federation People's Deputies elected under the current Constitution will retain their rights, obligations, and material compensation for the term of their mandates, unless otherwise specified in this act. Russian Federation People's Deputies may participate in the work of representative bodies as advisers, experts, or consultants.

7. The current Russian Federation Constitution and the Federation Treaty will remain in force until a new constitution is adopted, unless otherwise specified in this act.

8. The Federal Assembly may be dissolved by the president and new elections may be called if it fails to appoint the head of government of the Russian Federation from among the candidates put forward by the president.

The president may not dissolve the Federal Assembly within the first six months of its convening. If the president resorts to the dissolution of the Federal Assembly for a second time within the two years since the beginning of its work, new elections to the Federal Assembly and the presidency will be called.

(Published as summary. The above text is unofficial—SEGODNYA.)

Conference Proceedings for 15 Jun Reported

'No End in Sight'

PM1606104793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Vasiliy Kononenko: "No End in Sight for Constitutional Conference"]

[Text] The Constitutional Conference is nearly over, if you go by the predetermined schedule. But the end is shrouded in mist from the viewpoint of the attainment of this representative body's goal—the elaboration of the final version of the new constitution. Primarily because, despite the fact that it was the weekend, the conference participants embarked on a discussion of the key issue of the Russian state's existence—its structure.

The day before, the second group, after discussing article 7 of the draft constitution on the principles of the equality of the Federation's components adopted a very important addition: "The Russian Federation/Russia is a federal state comprising the components of the Federation—republics, krays, oblasts, cities of federal status, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs. A republic is a sovereign state within the Russian Federation. Kray, oblast, city of federal status, autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrug are state entities within the Russian Federation. In their relations with the federal bodies of authority the components of the Russian Federation are equal with one another. The state structure of the Russian Federation provides for its unity, for the decentralization of state power, and the peoples' right to self-determination within the Russian Federation."

In the political parties' group there was also approval of an amendment proposed by representatives of Tula, Astrakhan, and other oblasts on equal rights and powers for all components of the Federation. Indeed, it is known that many people take a very equivocal and cautious view of this norm, because of the danger of a sovereignization chain reaction.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked the well-known lawyer S. Alekseyev, coordinator of the commodity producers and entrepreneurs section, to speak on the topic. Here is his opinion:

"The proposal concerning the equal status of the Federation's components could obtain support and become an essential norm if economic, social, and spiritual questions are raised during its formulation and interpretation. The main thing is not to stray into the area that is anathema to us, where national self-determination has been elevated to the status of obligatory separation and formation of independent states. I want there to be autononmous provinces [gubernii] and territories [zemli] in Russia. But any disruption now of the current fine balance of accord in the state structure will result in an explosion. The maximum caution is needed here."

"Are the leaders of the Federation's components aware of this?"

"They are. But the sovereignization tendency is very strong. Probably we will have to go through the stage of forming a national state within the framework of a single Federation. Practically all the developed European countries have done this. But God forbid that this legitimate idea should develop into nationalism."

Touching on another topical question that is attracting attention to the Constitutional Conference concerning the exclusion of such institutions as the Security Council and president's administration from the draft constitution, S. Alekseyev said that there is nothing scandalous about it from a juridical viewpoint. The citadel of authority is not being undermined, since the president is entitled to form any consultative bodies. There are presidential apparatuses with organizational and research functions in all developed countries. The Security Council is a different matter, he said. This institution bears the imprint of the past and poses the danger of the existence of a parallel executive authority, and it has no place in the constitution.

In conclusion, the interlocutor stressed that if the Constitutional Conference manages to adopt a declaration on the constitution and find common approaches to the formation of temporary constitutional acts, it would be a productive outcome.

Many conference participants consider it inevitable that its work will continue and the final plenary session will be held after 16 June.

Sections Continue Work

PM1506134593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 2

[Boris Slavin report: "On the Way to Redistribution"]

[Text] The Constitutional Conference continued its work in groups on 13 and 14 June. The sharpest discussions developed in the group of the components of the Federation. Two very important questions were discussed there: Russia's federation system and ownership.

On the first question, the participants in the conference grappled with the problem of how to marry the juridical equality of the components of the Federation with their actual differences. Representatives of the republics insisted on the idea of sovereignty, and representatives of krays and oblasts demanded that they be given the same rights as republics. As a result, a formula was agreed, which determines the Russian Federation as a sovereign, democratic, federative, rule-of-law, secular, and social state with a republican form of rule, in which krays and oblasts possess the same rights as republics with the exception established by the Russian Federation Constitution.

On the question of ownership, the discussion once again started to revolve around private ownership: Whether or not to include it in the basis of the constitutional system. The Mariy El representative demanded that the question of private ownership be referred to the authority of the regions, because 60 percent of the population of this region has expressed their opposition to private ownership of land.

According to S. Shakhray, as soon as the concept of private ownership disappears from the Constitution, all private owners will be eliminated together with the concept. Admittedly, Shakhray did not specify who will eliminate the private owners. After all, power in the country belongs to those who support them! According to the leader of the group, the entry on private ownership as the basis of the constitutional system will lead to the preservation of the unity and integrity of the state. To my mind, however, this entry may lead not only to the

redistribution of land, but to civil war, when the private owners assert their claim to collective and state farm workers' land.

Conference To Break for 10 Days

LD1506131793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1210 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jun—The further procedure for the work of the Constitutional Conference and a draft statement on the new Russian Constitution have been discussed at the meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and heads of administrations of krays and oblasts, which took place in the Kremlin today. Boris Ivanov, the head of the Chita Oblast administration, told this to the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

In his words, a preliminary decision has been made at the meeting that after a plenary sitting planned for tomorrow, the Constitutional Conference will take a 10-day break. Meanwhile, the working groups will continue to work until the next plenary sitting, which is scheduled for 26 June.

The head of the Chita Oblast administration also said that the wording of the tenth point on the state structure of the Russian Federation in the text of the draft was amended during the discussion of the draft statement on the new constitution.

Instead of a provision envisaging that "the Russian Federation unites equal republics, krays, oblasts, and towns of federal significance" and autonomous formations, it was decided to point out that "the Russian Federation is a federative state which consists of the subjects of the Federation. The republic is a sovereign state. The kray, oblast, or town of federal significance, the autonomous oblast and the autonomous okrug are state-territorial formations within the Russian Federation. The subjects of the Federation enjoy equal rights in their relations with the federal bodies of power. The state structure of the Russian Federation ensures its unity, decentralization of state power and the right of the people to self-determination within the Russian Federation."

Working Groups Define Issues

LD1506205493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Report on Constitutional Conference proceedings on 15 June by correspondent Perfilyev, including recordings of remarks by I. Shabunin, head of Volgograd oblast administration; A. Zhdanovskiy, chairman of Krasnodar kray soviet; and A. Tikhonov, chairman of Consolidation Party—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today's meetings between President Boris Yeltsin and heads of administration and republic leaders and between Ruslan Khasbulatov and soviet chairmen within the framework of the Constitutional Conference illustrate the fact that it may soon be possible to draw the first provisional conclusions. Up to today, two issues have been most clearly defined in the working groups in the Kremlin: first, the federal structure of Russia, and second, the means by which the new basic law should be adopted.

[Shabunin] Of course, on the one hand republics have different political and economic rights today, and on the other hand so do krays and oblasts. At any rate we, the representatives of krays and oblasts insist that both political and economic rights should be the same.

[Zhdanovskiy] A significant proportion of the representatives of the federation subjects are concentrating on this, and I think that, as it were, we can influence the, you know, final collation of all these drafts. [passage omitted]

[Tikhonov] Critics of the constitutional conference say that there is too little conflict in the way it works. I would not say so; all points of view are taken into account, it is determined which is best objectively, and if an article from the parliamentary draft looks best, that article is adopted. I think the first stage of agreeing a draft constitution went quite well and has consolidated society, and we have to take a break in order to hold the next stage of agreeing a constitution some time in July or August sometime, and by this means approach full agreement.

Shakhray Cited on Proceedings

LD1506205093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1903 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—The tenth day of the Constitutional Conference began with the discussion of amendments to the draft new Russian fundamental law.

As the date of the forum completion is nearing, President Boris Yeltsin and heads of territorial and regional administrations, as well as a meeting of the Council of Russian Republics discussed the procedure of further constitutional process. They decided to hold a plenary meeting of the Constitutional Conference on Wednesday [16 June] and announce a ten-day break after that. A conciliatory commission will work on the final text of the constitution within this period, Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray said.

The commission will also discuss a possible mechanism to adopt the new constitution. The body will include President Boris Yeltsin, representatives of federation subjects and other conference participants.

Heads of republics, territorial and regional administrations considered a draft statement on the new constitution to be submitted to Wednesday's plenary meeting. Representatives of territories and regions insisted on

changes in the wording of the tenth item of the statement to dwell on principles of the Russian state structure.

They decided to replace the provision saying "the Russian Federation shall unite equal republics, territories, regions and federal cities", autonomous formations with a wording "the Russian Federation shall be a federal state to include federation subjects. The republic should be a sovereign state. The territory, the region, the federal city, the autonomous region and the autonomous district shall be a state-territorial formation within the Russian Federation.

"Federation subjects shall be equal in relations with federal power bodies. The Russian state structure shall ensure its unity, decentralization of state power and the right of the people to self-determination within the Russian Federation".

Head of the Bryansk regional administration Yuriy Lodkin said the meeting also focused on the composition of the upper chamber of the supreme representative body of Russia. In the opinion of the majority of administration heads, it shall include two representatives of each federation subject, regardless what it is—a republic, a territory of a region.

Tomorrow's plenary meeting is expected to vote on the draft statement to become sort of an intermediate result of the first stage of the Constitutional Conference. On the whole, the conference will bring some results by July 15, but not finish then, Vice-Premier Yuriy Yarov told a news conference here today. In his opinion, the new constitution could hardly be elaborated in a short time.

Sobchak on Talks With Yeltsin

PM1506191593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "First Stage of Work of Constitutional Conference Coming to an End"]

[Text] On 15 June all the Constitutional Conference's working groups got as close as possible to completing work on the final chapters of the new draft constitution.

A number of very important amendments concerning the supreme organs of power were adopted even during the morning session. The group of representatives of federal organs of power, for example, accepted the proposal that the government's resignation be accepted or declined by the president, while the president is obliged to raise the question of the government's resignation statement before the Federation Council. If the government's resignation is not accepted by the Federation Council, the president has the right to dissolve the Federation Council.

The group of representatives of local self-government clarified a term relating to the new structure of formations within the Russian Federation which had been worrying everyone in recent days, namely: national-territorial formations. It has now been resolved to standardize this term and henceforth they will be called national-territorial units, although the difference between this formulation and the definition of "component of the Russian Federation" is difficult to grasp.

The group of representatives of political parties and mass movements continued discussion on the draft declaration on the Russian Constitution. In the light of the amendments made to this document the day before it was resolved in particular to introduce the concept of "public accord" into it. The declaration will end with an appeal to support the "agreed" draft constitution and start preparation for new elections to the supreme organs of state power.

During discussion of the chapter on the Russian Federation president the amendment introducing the office of vice president was rejected by a majority of votes. The participants in the group confirmed their previous decision that the president is the head of the executive branch and that the election of the president is to be conducted by nationwide vote. The different timing of the elections of the president and parliament, as enshrined in the president's draft of the constitution, was confirmed at the same time.

The group of representatives of commodity producers and entrepreneurs unanimously rejected the idea of the superior judicial office as a "harmful, undemocratic, and artifically created organ." This was reported by the news and information center of the president's administration.

Meanwhile, while the wording of the articles of the constitution was being honed in the sections, President Yeltsin assembled the heads of administrations. The meeting was held behind closed doors. As St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak informed your IZVESTIYA correspondent at its close, the meeting was devoted to summing up the Constitutional Conference sections' work. Naturally, discussion was mainly concentrated on the problem of constitutionally enshrining the provisions on heads of administrations and components of the Federation and, in particular, on what should be understood by equality of the components of the Federation. After all, this equality is not precisely defined and could in different situations be interpreted in favor of particular political forces. The president proposed the following formula in this regard: All components of the Federation are equal in relations with the federal organs of power.

That, in Sobchak's opinion, defines very precisely the crux of the main rights and duties insofar as equality in the solution of budget and other economic problems by the components of the Federation together with the federal organs is concerned.

Regarding the Constitutional Conference's further work, a decision was made to hold a plenary session 16 June, which will complete the first stage of its work, as it were.

However, not all conference participants will be heading home. The commission will continue its work with the aim of reducing all the amendments to the draft constitution to single, legally precise wordings. And the plenary session will be reconvened 26 June to adopt a decision regarding approval of the draft constitution as a whole and discuss the mechanism for the adoption of the Basic Law. By that time the law on elections should also be signed. It is now in the process of discussion, the mayor of St. Petersburg stressed.

Conference Developments Updated

PM1606132393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Constitutional Conference" rubric: "A Recess, but Not a Breathing Space"]

[Text] The inter-section conciliation commissions will work for 10 days. A plenary session should be held 26 June at which the definitive text of the draft Constitution will be submitted.

Yesterday Russian President Boris Yeltsin held one after the other two difficult meetings with the participants in the Constitutional Conference. Heads of administrations were invited to the first meeting and heads of republics to the second. It is interesting that both the former and the latter are taking part in the work of the same section, which, moreover, has turned out to be the key one during the Constitutional Conference's work. "The Constitutional Conference inclines toward the view that the regions and republics should be granted equal rights, but this road will lead straight to schism," Republic of Ingushetia President Ruslan Aushev told your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent just before meeting the Russian president. It is possible to talk about broad economic and social rights but not about equal political rights. So is this the start of confrontation? The Russian president is attempting to damp it down.

How long will the Constitutional Conference continue its work? It seems that the plenary session slated for today and approved under the standing orders will not be the last. Only the local self-government group has discussed all the chapters of the Constitution, and the group of entrepreneurs and commodity producers is concluding its work. But the most complex group—the one that includes representatives of organs of state power in Russian Federation constituent republics, krays, and oblasts—has only "got through" half of its work.

After today's plenary session at the Constitutional Conference it is planned to declare a recess until 26 June. Work will then continue.

Sections' Work Results in a Declaration

A discussion about a Declaration on the Constitution has been going on in the sections of the Constitutional Conference. This document emerged in the fifth group—the one comprising entrepreneurs and commodity producers. Group coordinator Sergey Alekseyev commented that the Constitutional Conference does not have the legal competence to adopt a new Constitution, but it was entitled to adopt a declaration at the latest plenary session.

Inter-Section Commission Urged To Resolve Contradictions

An inter-section working group is being set up at the Constitutional Conference. Its membership has been approved; it includes several representatives from each of the five groups working at the Conference. Replying to a question from your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent, presidential aide Yuriy Baturin stressed that disagreements about the interpretation of certain articles had arisen in the course of the work of the various groups discussing the draft of the new Constitution. The inter-section commission has also been urged to resolve these contradictions. In the event of the commission's being unable to find a compromise solution, grounds will be present for assembling state arbitration comprising representatives of three courts: the Constitutional Court, the Arbitration Court, and the Supreme Court. In Yuriy Baturin's opinion, there will not be many contentious points of this sort destined for constitutional arbitration.

Entrepreneurs Suggest Constitution 'Principles'

PM1606115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 2

[Unattributed report including unsigned and undated "Declaration on the Constitution of Russia" produced by Industrialists and Entrepreneurs Group at the Constitutional Conference: "Fundamental Law Floated in the Groups"]

[Text] Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the Private Law Research Center, is coordinating the work of the representatives of commodity producers and entrepreneurs. It is this group that has been working the most vigorously during the Constitutional Conference. Progress is being made fairly rapidly on the draft constitution. However, Sergey Alekseyev believes, this is introducing certain pessimistic notes. Compromises must be made. But a great deal can also be lost by means of consensus. What suits everyone may effectively prove dangerous to the future constitution, to the future of Russia.

Irina Khakamada, general secretary of the Economic Freedom Party, underlined the activeness of the group of entrepreneurs and commodity producers—it is group No. 5 at the conference—during a conversation with your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent. This group proved the most cohesive because it gathered together like-minded people who are not defending their own political ambitions but trying to influence the Fundamental Law so as to legally enshrine the changes taking place in our country and thus express the national

interests of Russia's citizens. All the amendments are very constructive, and there are more points of contact than disagreements.

The group of entrepreneurs submitted an interesting initiative to the conference. In order that the ideas voiced during the discussion should not disappear later, Irina Khakamada explained, it was decided to formulate a very concise conceptual document entitled "Draft Declaration on the Russian Constitution." It enshrines the fundamental principles of the constitution for the present and the future. This document is now also being discussed by other groups.

Declaration on the Constitution of Russia

Citizens of Russia!

We participants in the Constitutional Conference announce that, once it has adopted a new Constitution, Russia will break with its totalitarian, inhumane past and will be able to occupy a worthy place among the other states of the world and assert itself as a free, rule-of-law, secular, federative state whose supreme asset is its people.

To this end the Constitutional Conference has formulated a draft Constitution and declares the following principles fundamental and inviolable:

1. Human dignity is absolute and inviolable. There can be no grounds for belittling it.

2. Human rights and freedoms belong to everyone in Russia from birth. They are acknowledged and constitutionally guaranteed in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and universally recognized norms of international law.

3. Everyone in Russia is equal before the law and the courts. No one can be subjected to any discrimination or violations of rights and freedoms on grounds of birth, sex, race, nationality, language, religion, or political or religious convictions.

4. Property is inviolable. No one can be arbitrarily deprived of their property. The right to private ownership is a natural human right. Citizens and their associations are entitled to private ownership of land and other property acquired in accordance with the law.

5. Everyone has the right to economic freedom and to the free application of their abilities and property for any economic activity not prohibited by law.

6. Russia's economic life is founded on the principles of economic and social partnership. The state provides social protection for mothers and children and guarantees social security at the state's expense for the elderly, in the event of sickness or loss of the ability to work, and against the loss of a breadwinner.

7. State power in Russia is founded on people's power, the separation of powers (legislative, executive, and judicial), and federalism. Parliament alone adopts laws in Russia. No subunit of power, state organ, or official can aspire to absolute power or to exercise functions of authority unchecked. Any state act can be legally contested.

8. Public order, the supremacy of the law, legality, and effective executive power are ensured in Russia. The head of state in Russia is a nationally elected president, who is the guarantor of the state's integrity and citizens' rights and freedoms. The president is under the supervision of the people, the law, and the courts.

9. Any part (region) can only secede from Russia on the basis of a Russia-wide referendum. Russia is a federative state, integral and indivisible.

Details of Yeltsin's 'Fifth Variant' Reported

MK1506105093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 25, 15 Jun 93 (signed to press 14 Jun) p 1

[Sergey Parkhomenko report under "Initiative" rubric: "Russia's 'Small' Constitution. A Sketch. They Speak in Whispers About Election Constitutional Law for the Moment. But it Is Already Audible."]

[Text] The concept of the "fifth variant" for pulling out of the constitutional crisis, mentioned by President Yeltsin in his 12 June Russian Independence Day press conference—the variant that a group of Kremlin strategists is working on as an alternative to trying, an effort that would surely be ineffectual, to get Russia's new constitution adopted through a vote in the Congress or a referendum—remains the most intriguing puzzle of the final leg of the Constitutional Conference. Details from the conference lobby increasingly confirm the rather widespread suppositions of late that the general concept of the variant must be extremely close to the idea for an expedited approval of the "smaller" constitution—a temporary constitutional law outlining the powers of federal bodies of power, and a formula for their election.

This type of suppositions begin to appear as relatively confident prognoses once you analyze the document SEGODNYA received the other day: On 14 June, a rather limited circle of persons privy to the work of the Constitutional Conference got an opportunity to see the text of the "Guidelines of an Act on Election of the Russian Federation Supreme Body of Legislative Power—a Federal Assembly."

One cursory look is sufficient to see that this document is intimately related to documents drawn up in recent months by a group of deputies headed by Viktor Sheynis. Deputy Sheynis indeed, this time too, was one of the most active members of the group who drew up the above document. SEGODNYA's sources also name among its authors Galina Starovoytova, Boris Zolotukhin, Yuriy Nesterov, Gavriil Popov, and Boris Strashun, the authoritative constitutional law specialist. Those who took the lead in creating the group least of all wanted to form it on the basis of a narrow "factional"

principle. The presence in it, among others, of Aleksandr Vladislavlev, a Civic Union leader, confirms that one should not think of the document as the brainchild of a "pro-presidential" bloc exclusively.

According to one of its authors, the draft was favorably received by several members of the presidential team charged with formulation of the administration's legal policy: Sergey Shakhray, Aleksandr Kotenkov, and Anatoliy Sliva.

The draft, judging from the heading on its title page, is intended for being "put to Constitutional Conference discussion." Nevertheless, a straight line is not necessarily the shortest path for passing a bill in the Kremlin: "The Guidelines...." would most probably be first presented (this must happen 16 June at the latest) to a working group composed of representatives of all five sections of the conference precisely in order to draft election laws. This group alone, on its own behalf, is supposed to put the draft before the participants in the plenary session.

Rumyantsev Urges Single Draft, Joint Work

LD1506180893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1104 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By Igor Gvritishvili, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 15 June—Oleg Rumyantsev, executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission, has sent a letter to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov in which he proposes a number of measures to ensure, in his view, the adoption of a new Russian constitution.

In the letter that was circulated today, Oleg Rumyantsev called upon the country's top officials to overcome their differences and adopt a law that will be crucial for Russia's future. "The adoption of a single agreed text of a draft is the most important guarantee for the new constitution to be adopted in a legal way and then accepted by the majority of society," he believes. In connection with this, he "asks the two top leaders of Federal authority and the Constitutional Commission to examine the possibility of issuing a joint instruction on a joint working group in order to complete agreement and development of a single draft Russian constitution."

In the draft instruction attached to the letter, Oleg Rumyantsev proposes to set up a joint working group in order to complete work for preparing a single agreed draft constitution; the group should include representatives of the president and the Supreme Soviet. In the view of the author of the document, the working group should prepare a single agreed draft constitution before 15 July 1993. Subsequently, the group together with representatives of the bodies of federal power and administration and the bodies of state power and administration of Russian subjects should finalize the draft constitution before 10 October, taking into account the addenda and amendments received during a nationwide discussion. According to the document, the final text of a completed draft should be submitted to the Russian president, the Constitutional Commission and the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Conference Supported by 315 Deputies

PM1606093793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 1

["Statement of Russian Federation People's Deputies," "signed by 315 Russian Federation people's deputies"]

[Text] We support the Russian Federation president's initiative in convening the Constitutional Conference. We believe that this conference will be the best form of work at the final stage in the preparation of a draft Russian Federation constitution. It will ensure the participation in this work of the components of the Federation, the Constitutional Commission, the corps of deputies, representatives of local self-government, parties, mass movements, public associations, trade unions, creative unions, religious faiths, entrepreneurs, and commodity producers.

We realize that the crisis of power can only be overcome, the principles of people's power, federalism, and separation of powers defended, and human rights ensured by the urgent, consistent implementation of constitutional reform.

The Constitutional Conference must prepare a unified draft of a new Russian constitution based on the Russian Federation president's proposal and also formulate proposals pertaining to the mechanism for the constitution's adoption.

We believe that in view of the results of the referendum and in the current political conditions the adoption of constitutional decisions cannot be the exclusive right of the Congress of People's Deputies. The work of adopting a draft constitution prepared with the direct participation of very varied strata of society must not be allowed to be deadlocked at a Congress. We think that the draft constitution finalized at the Constitutional Conference can only be submitted to an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies by the Russian president-chairman of the Russian Federation's Constitutional Commission. As a preliminary the draft is to be initialed by the majority of components of the Russian Federation. The congress is not entitled to make any changes to the draft that have not been coordinated with the president and components of the Russian Federation.

The new Russian Federation constitution must be a real fundamental law to revive Russia as a democratic state with a socially-oriented economy, a developed federative system founded on the principles of people's power, separation of powers, and observance of human rights, and with an effective state authority based on principles of a presidential republic, developed parliamentarianism, and an independent judicial system.

We must not allow the Congress to take the road of continuing the confrontation. Otherwise we will refuse to take part in its work and urge other Russian Federation people's deputies to follow suit.

This statement was signed by 315 Russian Federation people's deputies.

Stankevich Comments on Constitutional Conference

MK1506113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 2

[Article by Sergey Stankevich, presidential adviser, under "Carte Blanche" rubric: "The Constitution Will Inevitably Be 'Provisional.' On the Issue of Political and Federal Center"]

[Text] Intense political bargaining is under way at the Constitutional Conference between representatives of the regions, the republics, and the federal center. Predictably, the issue of federalism has taken center stage. Approximately once a century an opportunity arises in Russian history for changing the relatively stable arrangement of property and power between the center and the regions. This rare opportunity has emerged now, and all Federation members—with varying success—are using it to obtain additional powers and resources. The balance of forces and property has substantially shifted from the center to the periphery.

It is one thing to get extra powers, another to retain them. Until these acquisitions by the Federation components have been formalized on the constitutional level, the danger of a reversal will continue to exist.

The crucial stage of the constitutional reform has sharply aggravated the complicated conflict of interests. The regions want to get all that the republics have. They have lagged behind in this landmark redistribution and would like to make up lost ground. The republics are extremely reluctant to agree to this, with many qualifications, since thereby their special status and privileged positions in the Russian Federation are undermined. At the same time both are bargaining with the center over consolidating the new basic distribution of property and power.

The Constitutional Conference has brought about a substantially new situation wherein the regions and the republics are conducting an open dialogue between themselves on the issue of equating their rights and capabilities, while the president is acting in this dialogue more as an intermediary and conciliator. In contrast to collective pressure on the federal center, this scheme is more productive for Russia-wide interests and is beginning to work, strengthening the president's positions.

The next area of the intense conflict is the correlation of federal powers, inasmuch as all the conference participants began to work on the presidential draft constitution, turning to the parliament's draft as a reserve for amendments and additions. It is becoming clear that the idea of a strong presidency is generally acceptable and that all the participants in the Constitutional Conference have put up with its inevitability. At the same time a strong presidency should not necessarily be imperial and authoritarian. In this context the president's power to dissolve parliament will apparently be adjusted. It is important to give an exhaustive enumeration of grounds for dissolving parliament (failure to approve the head of government or a federal budget within an established time limit) and to specify that the president may not dissolve parliament more than once during his presidency. These norms have already been successfully tested in Poland.

The third major sphere of debates and conflicts is the question of procedures for adopting a new constitution. What will happen after the conference has ended? Everybody is thinking about this. Here the young Russian democracy has come up against one of the most difficult puzzles. It is impossible to pass over to a new constitution in a perfectly legal manner, but to do this illegally would not be acceptable. Therefore various schemes are being designed that would allow both to effect this transition and to preserve a good democratic "facade."

In the course of the conference the earlier expressed idea—first elect a new bicameral parliament which would in its turn adopt a new constitution—has taken on concrete contours. It is important that the text of the constitution, preliminarily approved in one form or another by the Federation components, should be passed or rejected as a whole, without any uncoordinated amendments being moved. The task therefore is made somewhat easier. It should not be the draft constitution itself that must be led along the narrow path of disputable legitimacy, but a law on elections to a new parliament—which is more realistic since elections are being sought, for various reasons, by many political forces.

In all debates, in my opinion, it is extremely important to remember the following. We have been involved in a prolonged and very complicated transition to a new Russia whose shape has not yet been defined. The constitution that we could adopt now would rather be an act of the transitional period, combining in itself the conflicting features of the present condition of society. In particular, we could record in it our current understanding of the formula of Russian federalism and correlation of powers. Leadership lies with the executive branch, adjustment and oversight with the legislative branch. The distribution of property and powers that has already occurred between the Federation components and the center can also hardly be deemed to be optimal and final for centuries to come. Therefore there is no need today to confront a changing society encumbered with numerous leftovers and liabilities of the previous system with an uphill task, the task of building a beautiful constitutional castle on ruins. This foundation is too insecure. A constitutional act should be adopted that would make it possible to pass the main stretch of the transitional period in a nonviolent, peaceful, and organized way. When the contours of the new Russia that we

are aspiring for have become more pronounced, when substantial public accord has emerged around the idea of a new Russia, then I think we should either change the constitution of the transitional period or adopt a new one which that have a very long life. One should take this soberly and calmly, trying to develop in oneself a feeling of history.

And another thing. Russia's present political field is a solid mine field. Politics in Russia is a source of heightened conflict, while so far we have no culture of political dissent. Because a dissenter here means an enemy subject to annihilation. Not necessarily "physically." This can also be done "morally." A policy of political intolerance is taken for granted. Moreover, it is glorified as a civic virtue. Lately several articles have appeared in the press asserting that the political center is extremely harmful and that this is a "diabolical" notion, allegedly more dangerous than even the "irreconcilable" opposition. If these ideas gain currency, even for a certain time, the entire process of peaceful state construction could be stopped. A conclusive extreme expression of a political position is necessary, but radicalism can be constructive only if there is a "center" with which it interacts. Once the "center" has been removed from the political spectrum, the opposing flanks will either simply paralyze each other or get locked in a deadly battle. Importantly, this is an "iron" law of politics, which manifests itself inexorably. I sincerely hope that this aberrant anticentrism is merely an intellectual fallacy and that it will not become a mass delusion in Russia.

In my opinion, constitutional reform will make it possible (as a by-product which, however, is no less important) to discover eventually a reasonable line—since the Constitution is not a time-serving affair but an object of durable political use, which will be inherited by several generations to come.

Further Burbulis Comment on Conference

PM1506160193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Democratic Forces Need New Type of Coalition"]

[Text] The Constitutional Conference can be described as a unique and fruitful form, politically in line with the results of the April referendum, Gennadiy Burbulis, president of the "Strategy" center, said at a meeting with journalists. Together we have found the only form in current Russian conditions that conserves the energy of 25 April and preserves the political will of the reforms. According to Gennadiy Burbulis, the preconditions have taken shape in Russia for a proper solution to the complex political situation. Gennadiy Burbulis put forward the three main constituent elements: The initiative today rests completely with the president, the democratic reform section of the corps of deputies, and the aware section of society.

The president of the "Strategy" center also mentioned the initiative for the creation of an election bloc because the current situation is acquiring the overtones of an election campaign. All democratic forces that united 25 April need a new type of coalition.

Within the coalition now being formed there is a real possibility of a new party being created.

Constitution Procedure 'Omission' Viewed

PM1506090993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Anatoliy Vengerov, a participant in the Constitutional Conference, by Yuriy Feofanov; place and date not given: "New Constitution Can Be Adopted Using Old Constitution... Without the Congress"]

[Text] The Constitutional Conference convened at the president's initiative is proceeding (after the incident at the start) in a businesslike atmosphere. But let us allow that everyone agrees and elaborates a single draft. How is it to be adopted? That is the fundamental question. It would seem impossible to bypass the congress if we follow a strictly constitutional path. Article 104 of the Constitution assigns "the adoption of the Russian Federation Constitution" exclusively to the congress. Doctor of Juridical Sciences Anatoliy Vengerov, a participant in the conference, with whom IZVESTIYA observer Yuriy Feofanov had a meeting, has a different opinion.

[Vengerov] However paradoxical it may seem, matters are not as simple as they appear with regard to the congress' right to adopt the new constitution. Yes, article 104 includes the adoption of the new constitution in its jurisdiction. But compare that norm with article 185—it does not establish the procedure for adopting the new constitution. In other words there is a law but there is no procedure for implementing that law. There is merely the procedure for changes and additions. Today we do not know whether the congress should examine one draft or whether it can examine several alternative drafts, we do not know the number of votes necessary for the adoption of the constitution, for instance two thirds of voters from the electoral list or a majority. Incidentally, the law on the referendum, which establishes the procedure for adopting the new constitution, indicates that it is considered adopted if over half the citizens on the lists for participation in the referendum have voted for it. In brief, so far there is a complete lack of clarity in the procedure for adopting the constitution. That could become a factor of confrontation.

[Feofanov] Frankly, I would never have thought that the Constitution contains such an omission. But is it not a kind of "loophole?" That is, will the path you suggest be legal? Or quasi-legal? You must agree, Anatoliy Borisovich, that in a very important matter like the adoption of the Fundamental Law is it worth trying to catch the legislators out? Although, of course, it is simply essential to draw the conference's attention to this fact.

[Vengerov] No, the lack of a procedure for adopting the new constitution is not a loophole, especially given the tense relations with the legislators. After all, procedure may be said to be the basis of law. The state-legal norm, incidentally, like any legal norm, does not "live" of its own accord, without a procedure for its implementation. Let us recall that in the "most democratic" USSR Constitution of 1977 for over 10 years the norm giving a citizen the right to appeal to the court against illegal actions by officials was not "in operation" merely because the bureaucracy had delayed the adoption of procedure for applying this truly democratic norm.

Obviously the legislators believed that the Constitution had been created for centuries, it would be possible merely to alter and add to it. And perhaps they believed that at some time an "unforeseen situation" would arise and the procedure for adopting the new constitution should be appropriate to that situation. That is, I do not believe that omission was fortuitous. The unforeseen situation has arisen now. It cannot be kept quiet or avoided. The omission provides an opportunity for establishing the procedure for the adoption of the new constitution now. And that must be through the congress.

[Feofanov] Good. Let us suppose that everything in our arguments is legally irreproachable. But there remains one more important question. At some time we must institute a constitutional assembly, an Assembly of the Land, or some other assembly which would be fully empowered to adopt the constitution. What will be the degree of its legitimacy if it is instituted in fact without a law? Can we refer to anyone's experience or at least to general legal principles?

[Vengerov] A complex question. Indeed, the lack of procedure opens up various paths—but legal paths—for the adoption of the new constitution. Here the initialing, by the components of the Federation, of the draft prepared by the Constitutional Conference seems most acceptable. How should this be approached? The Constitutional Conference could prepare and adopt an electoral law on whose basis a new parliament would be formed and it could adopt the new constitution. The path of the constituent assembly and the referendum is also possible.

The main thing that emerges from the lack of a procedure is that the new constitution can be adopted without the knowledge of the congress and nonetheless become entirely legitimate.

'Fifth Section' Constitutional Debate Outlined

PM1406131793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Linkov report: "Entrepreneurs in Need of Protection"]

[Text] Among the five sections into which the Constitutional Conference participants have been divided the fifth section, where representatives of commodity producers and entrepreneurs have gathered, is working at the most intensive pace. By yesterday they had discussed 69 articles of the new draft Constitution. This great capacity for work is due above all to the fact that most of the people brought together in it have common interests and are seeking to consolidate them constitutionally. The present fundamental law gives no such guarantee—a point referred to at yesterday's news conference, for example, by V. Bashmachikov, president of the Association of Russian Peasant (Private) Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives; V. Shchekochikhin, president of the Russian Union of Private Owners; and O. Gartsev, head of the Society of Merchants and Industrialists.

Shchekochikhin considers it equally important to prepare for new parliamentary elections. While not intending to participate independently in political struggle, the private entrepreneurs' representatives intend to support the democratic forces in society, whose job is to defend their interests in a professional manner in the new legislative organ.

How is the mechanism for adopting the new constitution seen? It does not yet exist as such. The news conference participants, though, do not think that the Constitutional Conference should have that task.

The main events at the conference will unfold at the evening plenary session. It will sum up some preliminary results of the work already done, and a discussion will open. A draft declaration on the constitution of free, democratic Russia and a concept for a draft new electoral law will also be submitted for the attention of the session participants.

Religious Leaders Criticize Draft Constitution

LD1106131793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 11 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday we issued an ultimatum: if an amendment with our wording is not adopted we will quit the conference. This was stated at a news conference today by representatives of the country's religions who are taking part in the constitutional conference. They were talking about the article of the draft constitution on the citizen's rights to freedom of conscience and conviction.

Initially, the president's and the parliament's drafts proposed a version of the article which spoke about the freedom of atheistic activity. According to the religious representatives, this article is clearly antireligious, although they stressed that this must not be confused with the inalienable right of each citizen to hold atheistic convictions. We managed to exclude the proposed wording of Article 14 and bring it into line with international legal practice.

The religious representatives yesterday also proposed restoring to the text of the draft constitution a wording

on the right of the churches not to participate in running the state. Otherwise, they pointed out, each religion risks being turned into a party or something like one. This proposal was unanimously supported by the section of parties and movements.

Political Issues

Shumeyko, Gaydar, Yakovlev Found New Election Bloc

LD1506182893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By correspondent I. Barchugov—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today Vladimir Shumeyko, Yegor Gaydar, and Aleksandr Yakovlev gathered journalists and told them about the setting up of a new political bloc. This bloc has been founded so that reformers will get the majority of deputies' mandates at the forthcoming elections to a professional two-chamber parliament in autumn. The founders of the bloc have no doubt about either the first or the second point [as heard]. Like any political force, they would like to have greater influence on the adoption of laws. The bloc is being set up especially for the elections. It can later be transformed into a party. The participants in the news conference do not exclude such a possibility. The bloc's political and economic programs will be made public next month.

Shaposhnikov To Temporarily Hold Old, New Posts

PM1506114993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov Appointed Security Council Secretary"]

[Excerpts] The Russian Federation president has signed an Edict on the Appointment of Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov as Secretary of the Russian Security Council. This post became vacant 10 May when Yuriy Skokov was released from it by a presidential edict.

Commenting on the new appointment of Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Boris Yeltsin said at a meeting with journalists 12 June that this post must be occupied by a person who has a good standing and a good knowledge of the "power" structures, primarily the Ministry of Defense, and "all specific military matters." Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov "supports the line of the president and the government very actively and reliably, and I have absolute confidence in him." [passage omitted]

All the indications are that Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov will also carry out the duties of CIS Joint Armed Forces commander in chief for the present, because, in accordance with existing agreements, appointment to and dismissal from the post of commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces is the prerogative of the Council of Commonwealth Heads of State.

Government, Local Executive Activities, Decisions Viewed

PM1606083993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature under the general heading: "Executive: Monitoring"]

[Excerpts] **Government's Working Day**

Your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent was told by the Russian Council of Ministers-Government press service that on 14 June in addition to working vigorously at the Constitutional Conference Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin prepared for the coming session of the Council of Ministers Presidium to be held on 17 June. The premier met with department leaders from the Council of Ministers apparatus and worked with them on documents for the session of the Council of Ministers Presidium.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko is also working at the Constitutional Conference. During the recess he met with professors from U.S. universities. They talked about a wide range of issues—from economic reform in Russia to the work of the Constitutional Conference.

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov is also occupied in preparing for the Council of Ministers Presidium session.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets held a conference with the participation of prominent scientists and specialists from our near and distant neighbors during which they discussed the current situation in the metallurgical industry.

Decision Prepared

A draft decree of the Council of Ministers "On Urgent Energy Saving Measures" has been prepared for an upcoming session of the Russian Government. The document envisages granting rights to councils of ministers of republics within the Russian Federation and organs of executive power in krays, oblasts, and cities of federal jurisdiction and that a system of power supply (heat, gas, electricity) quotas be introduced where necessary by agreement with the Ministry of Fuel and Energy. [passage omitted]

Experts' Opinion

On the initiative of Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin a special Cabinet commission has been set up to be responsible for resolving operational questions of "ensuring the implementation of economic reform" and state selective structural policy and coordinating the

activity of central organs of government. The new body is led by Russian First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets.

A number of experts believe, however, that the creation of the new body considerably extends the areas of responsibility of O. Soskovets, who has hitherto officially supervised the problems of the industrial complex. On the other hand, specialists have noticed that questions of ensuring the implementation of economic reforms mentioned in the premier's decree setting up the new commission were previously ascribed pro forma to another first vice premier's sphere of activity—that of Economy Minister Oleg Lobov. [passage omitted]

Conflict

Two administration heads for Chelyabinsk Oblast are too many, Vadim Solovyev told journalists who met him at the airport. When asked in what capacity he was returning to his native city, the head of the oblast administration, previously appointed by the president, said that he was returning in the same capacity as he left for the plenary session of the Constitutional Conference in Moscow.

As you know, a session of the oblast soviet was held in Chelyabinsk recently and relieved Petr Sumin of his deputy's authority and his post as oblast soviet chairman at his request in connection with the oblast administration head's taking up office in accordance with the results of the 23 April elections. These elections have been deemed constitutional by the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, but no one has revoked the oblast court's ruling regarding the illegality of the procedure used for these elections.

In this connection Vadim Solovyev pointed out that he and his team are still directing the oblast and that he can be relieved of his post by the person who appointed him, that is, the Russian president. And there has been no such edict. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Court 'Fallen Into Disfavor'

PM1506135393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

["Commentary" by observer Aleksey Kravtsov: "Constitutional Court Falls Into Disgrace"]

[Text] It would appear that one of the mainstays of Russia's young democracy—the Constitutional Court—has fallen into disfavor with the supreme executive power.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin has repealed his directive of 17 August 1992, in accordance with which the security of the building, the judges, and their families was entrusted to the Russian Federation Main Security Directorate. On the basis of a presidential directive Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin was deprived 6 June of his official car with its hot line, and on the following day it was proposed that he vacate his state dacha in the Moscow area. Incidentally, Valeriy Dmitriyevich himself categorically refuses to speak to journalists on this subject.

The Constitutional Court, which was founded in October 1991 and intended to be the guarantor of the formation of a rule-of-law state, obviously does not suit the president and his "democratic team" today. After all, this supreme judicial organ of the country has deemed the provisions of a number of Boris Yeltsin's edicts unconstitutional, including those on the abolition of the CPSU, the refusal to allow the creation of the National Salvation Front, and many other acts signed by the head of the executive. The court's verdicts frequently note that the president is exceeding his authority and violating the principle of the separation of powers, and draw his attention to the poor juridical elaboration of documents.

The obvious annoyance of the "democrats" is provoked by the stance of Chairman Valeriy Zorkin, who not only put forward (incidentally, on the court's instructions) a conciliatory initiative at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies, but also, in effect, facilitated the collapse of the attempt to introduce presidential rule after Boris Yeltsin's 20 March television address to citizens.

After this, the pro-presidential press descended on the chairman of the Constitutional Court, balking at no slanders or fabrications. They began to whip up tension inside the court also. Voicing, in general, his personal opinion on cases under examination, Justice Ernest Ametistov informs foreign agencies of the essence of a ruling under discussion several hours before the verdict is made public, and speaks about the course of discussions in the consultation chamber, which is a blatant violation of court ethics. The insistence of this judge on clarifying secondary questions during hearings can confidently be assessed as an attempt to sidetrack the court from the petition under examination, and drag out procedings. The goal in this case is clear: to show the court's inability to examine petitions within the time frame stipulated by law, and hence its worthlessness. Carrying out this line, Ernest Ametistov stated to journalists during the work of the Constitutional Conference that, in the event of a new constitution being adopted which did not provide for institution of the Congress of People's Deputies, doubts would arise as to the legitimacy of the Constitutional Court, which was elected by the Congress, and after the adoption of a new Fundamental Law there should be fresh elections to the court, despite the principle of the irremovability of judges asserted in all the drafts and considered a major achievement of democracy.

In recent times Constitutional Court Deputy Chairman Nikolay Vitruk has also suddenly begun to voice his personal opinion. And the other day, according to an INTERFAX report, he stated that he is ready to resign if Valeriy Zorkin remains head of the Constitutional Court.

I was informed in the lobbies of the court that the position of the state information agency ITAR-TASS has been causing bewilderment of late by refusing to disseminate a number of the Constitutional Court's official documents, including a commentary on Mordovia. This explained the gist of the juridically complex ruling adopted by the court. A commentary on this question by Justice Boris Ebezeyev did not show up on the agency's tapes either. On the other hand, the personal opinion of Ernest Ametistov did appear. As a result distortions of various kinds concerning this ruling have appeared in the mass media. ITAR-TASS has also not relayed through its channels the court's reaction to Mikhail Poltoranin's call not to fulfill the ruling of the supreme judicial authority on the cessation of activity of the Federal Information Center.

Sergey Obukhov, leader of the Constitutional Court's press service, noted that a paradoxical situation is arising, whereby one of the branches of federal power does not have the possibility of disseminating information on its actions and rulings through the channels of the official state agency.

Rutskoy Steps Up Political Activity, Criticizes Yeltsin

LD1606152093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] It is common knowledge that Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy does not participate in the work of the Constitutional Conference. Nevertheless, Rutskoy's level of political activity is extremely high lately. Today the Russian vice president met representatives of the parliamentary faction Army Reform. Our correspondent, Yevgeniy Zherebenkov, gives the details:

[Zherebenkov] The vice president, who has lately concentrated on criticizing the economic and political course of the president and the government, this time addressed an area that was closer to him—the situation in the Armed Forces. Rutskoy thinks that it is deplorable.

The vice president estimates that the Navy has practically completely lost its fighting efficiency. For instance, according to Rutskoy, only two of five of the largest aircraft carriers are seaworthy. In Rutskoy's opinion, the fighting efficiency of other branches of service has also decreased sharply. The vice president proposed that the members of the Army Reform parliamentary faction set up a deputies' commission to inspect the state of the Armed Forces.

He was highly critical about the address of the president to the command of the Russian Army and stated that the country's leadership is doing nothing to ensure the social needs of servicemen. Rutskoy called for the deputies from the Army Reform faction to put forward an initiative and prepare a law to define the legal status of Russian servicemen serving beyond the borders of the Russian Federation.

The vice president once more touched upon the theme of corruption that he has been referring to for a long time, in particular reporting that 22 criminal proceedings have been instituted on the basis of materials that he handed over on violations in the Western Group of troops. According to information given by Rutskoy, 10 criminal proceedings have been instituted on the basis of materials from his famous 11 suitcases of documents on corruption in the higher echelons of power. Rutskoy reported that Gennadiy Burbulis has already ignored the fourth summons of a special procurator.

Rutskoy himself is convinced that the number of his supporters has not diminished and assesses his own political rating as very high.

Yeltsin Treatment of Vice President Scored

PM1506131993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Voldemar Koreshkov under the rubric "Brushstrokes of a Portrait": "Something About Boris Nikolayevich and Aleksandr Vladimirovich"]

[Text] No doubt many people know with what difficulty and how carefully Boris Yeltsin chose his workmate the vice president. In the end, having weighed up all the circumstances and having looked over several candidates, he offered this post to Aleksandr Rutskoy. And as a politician, he did the right thing.

The presidential candidate obtained the possibility of killing several birds with one stone. Still fresh in people's minds were the events of the Third (Extraordinary) Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, where the "six" parliamentary leaders who rebelled resolutely spoke out against RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin.

It was at the third congress that Aleksandr Rutskoy was able to unite the progressive forces of the communist deputies, withdraw them from the influence of the orthodox leadership of the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party, and create the "Communists for Democracy" faction, which came out in defense of Yeltsin. If it had not been for that circumstance and the resolute support given to Yeltsin by Ruslan Khasbulatov and other influential leaders at that time, the Supreme Soviet chairman would scarcely have remained in his post.

Another little-known fact connected with the last day of the work of the Third Congress of People's Deputies comes to mind. Everyone who was in the Great Kremlin Palace at that time observed the behavior of the chairman with bewilderment. The attacks of the hard-line critics had already been repulsed and the relevant documents had been adopted. Boris Nikolayevich was in an excellent frame of mind. But for some reason, he did not close the Congress; he kept shouting and going over and over discussions that no one needed any more, and putting off his concluding speech.

Only a small group of analysts and experts in Kavalergardskiy Hall could guess what this was all about.

Away from the troubles of the Congress, Mikhail Gorbachev attentively observed what was going on from his Kremlin residence. Having evidently decided that Boris Yeltsin's dismissal was already predetermined, the USSR president did not consider it important to be present at the Russian Congress.

I know that, carrying out Yeltsin's orders, Aleksandr Rutskoy conducted talks on Mikhail Gorbachev's participation in the work of the final day. He spoke to Mikhail Sergeyevich and his assistants several times. The opinion of the Union president gradually shifted from promises to attend the congress to uncertainty, and then refusal. When Gorbachev's position became obvious, Boris Nikolayevich made a victor's speech and closed the Congress.

Undoubtedly, when he offered Aleksandr Rutskoy the post of vice president, Boris Yeltsin could not have failed to take into account his influence not only among the progressive wing of the communist party, but also in the military sphere. Aleksandr Rutskoy made a good impression on many officers and men. And, to spite one of his ambitious rivals, who rashly called him "boots and mustache," he has enjoyed attention from the "weaker sex" because of his gallantry.

No one can deny the extremely constructive role which the vice president played a little over two months later during the August 1991 events. In the most difficult moments, he was with Yeltsin and next to Yeltsin: He led the organization of the defense of the House of the Soviets of Russia, participated in talks with Lukyanov, and flew out to Foros to fetch the USSR president.

I would like to note that despite all the contradictions in the Russian president's character, he nevertheless is not without human tolerance. For over a year I had the opportunity, first at sittings of the Supreme Consultative-Coordination Council, and then the Presidential Council, to observe the attention with which Boris Nikolayevich listens to and receives the opinions of his comrades in arms.

Evidently, the reasons for the sharp deterioration in relations between Boris Yeltsin and Aleksandr Rutskoy lie not only in displays of the peculiarities of their characters, but in something greater. This something is Russia's fate.

I do not think that you could find a single person who would reproach Rutskoy of being opposed to reform, democratization, and new forms of mutual relations with components of the Federation.

Let us take just one sphere of interest, the attitude to which has exacerbated the already tense situation between the president and the vice president. This is the fight against corruption. In a self-respecting democratic society, any initiatives by a state leader of such a rank should only be welcomed. Rutskoy's merit is that he directly and openly launched an anti-corruption campaign. However, it is evident that the true face of the dubious and unscrupulous lobbyists surrounding the president is being shown increasingly self-confidently and impudently. They have found ways of influencing the head of the executive, and are stirring up morbid exclusivity in him.

Well, in our tragedy we have frequently made the whole world laugh. Now, at the dubious initiative of Boris Nikolayevich's closest advisers, we will make the whole world laugh at our unlawful and immoral attitude to the vice president.

Pay Raise for Administration Heads Seen as Bribery

PM1606085993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 1

[Own information report: "He Won Them Over"]

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, issued an order establishing that all heads of administrations of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are being given a 50-percent raise in their official wages this year. The document was signed 28 May, on the eve of the Constitutional Conference. He won them over by bribing them, and at the same time, in Point 3, he warned: In 1994 increments on the premium will be strictly differentiated. It has not as yet been specified on what criteria, but you can guess.

Burbulis Calls For New Bloc To Counter Opposition

MK1606105693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 25, 20 Jun 93 (signed to press 15 Jun) p A10

[Interview with Gennadiy Burbulis, president of the Strategy for the 21st Century foundation, by Olga Bychkova in the "Parties" column: "There Has Been No Center, Nor Will There Be;" date, place not given]

[Text] Last week the creation of an pre-election association of voters was announced—a bloc of reformist forces called upon to "express the interests of those who supported the president's course toward reform at the 25 April referendum."

The statement of the bloc's organizers was signed by leaders of seven public organizations and 17 public and political figures, many of whom are members of the government and in any event are known for their pro-presidential orientation.

It is an open secret that the concept of a new association is being designed by the Gennadiy Burbulis Strategy for

the 21st Century Foundation. The statement bears Burbulis' signature. Gennadiy Burbulis responds to questions from MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

[Burbulis] The date 25 April has shown that democratic coalitions of the former type have completely exhausted themselves. A new type of collation is needed. We must unite for elections—not regular elections, but as a prototype of partisan elections that call for a basically new political behavior.

[Bychkova] Parties emerge, associate in blocs, then these blocs disintegrate.... Are you sure this will not happen to your organization?

[Burbulis] I am. First of all, there is an acute social need for a new political association. Moreover, today we have a fundamentally different opposition—highly professional, with a good financial and organizational basis. And finally, for the first time we have an opportunity to lay down the foundations of a civil society. The power structure has its own mechanism of influencing society, and the public structure has its own, different one. The entire paradox is that the opposition has no political perspective. But this is precisely why the opposition is dangerous: By losing initiative today it becomes aggressive. We must counter it with no lesser organizational ability—but we still lack it—and no lesser material capability. And finally, a new generation of leaders whom we intend to support.

[Bychkova] Your statement has been signed by several government leaders; in other words, what is involved is the creation of a "party of power." Yet, as is known, typically the history of such parties ends with just another trial of the century, where a new breed of judges seeks to separate this party from the state....

[Burbulis] A new political organization cannot emerge in a pure form. It must rely on people, including those responsible for the ongoing reforms. These people for their part need to consolidate their positions in order to assert themselves in the current political and election struggle. There is no call to feign political innocence in conditions where this is impossible. Any party entering election battles seeks to achieve power. Our task is to understand that in reality there is no multiparty system in society. There are two fundamental structures that could conditionally be described as a "party of reform" and a "party of revanche." The power structures exist on the same poles. There is no centrism in Russia and there is no way it can emerge within the next few years.

Popov Interviewed on Parliamentary Election Plans

MK1606111093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 1

[Interview with Gavriil Popov by "Yu. Z.": "Gavriil Popov: Ministers Want To 'Privatize' Referendum Results"—place, date not given]

[Text] [Yu. Z.] The press gave notice the other day that an election bloc, the Union of 25 April, is being formed for the parliamentary elections. Why is it, Gavriil Kharitonovich, that the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms is not among its founders?

[Popov] We attended the constituent meeting. We think, however, that the time when unions were created to match some symbol or leader has passed. The 25 April voting was perhaps the last of this kind. Now a detailed election platform is needed. Then the voter would cast his ballot for Kozlov or Sidorov [common Russian names] not because they are democrats, but because he would know precisely what the deputy is going to do during the four-year term.

There is a need for an election system based on party tickets where the parties could recall their representatives in parliament. You do see that many former democrats have turned into reactionaries and nationalists, and even the leaders—the speaker and the vice president—have sharply altered their views.

At the founding meeting, we asked the 25 April founders (politicians I respect) to show us their program. But there is no program. Either they are going to compose it later, or already after the elections, or there will be no program at all (as happened in the past).

And yet another thing: They, in 25 April, suppose that all votes cast for the president are votes for the policy of the present executive power apparatus. This sort of "privatization" is hardly proper because among those who have come to trust the president there are many who disagree with many aspects of the government and the Kremlin administration activities.

[Yu. Z.] What will be your course of action?

[Popov] We are going to elaborate an election platform either on our own or (more likely) together with other political movements. If it attracts many supporters, we will be creating an election bloc—the "Liberal Path for the Revival of Russia." We will be only glad if 25 April joins us.

Organizations Issue Appeal Defending Parliament

PM1506145393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 2

[Parliamentary Press Service report: "In Defense of Parliament"]

[Text] The Coordinating Council of the "Movement for Supporting Parliamentarianism" together with representatives of the "Citizen" Association, the Political Science Association, the Association of Conflict Analysts and Peacemakers, the Association of Democratic Culture Schools, the National and International Security Foundation, and the Alliance for the Renewal of Russia have

signed an appeal to the parliamentarians of Europe and some of the world's other countries in defense of the Russian parliament.

The authors of the appeal have based this step on their extreme concern for the future of their fatherland and the world, and their desire to give an account of the true situation regarding democracy in Russia and the clear threats hanging over it.

"The threat to democracy," the appeal says, "comes from those who call themselves radical reformers. Coming to power on the crest of a democratic wave, they have turned in the opposite direction by declaring the representative organs to be illegitimate and openly announcing their desire to abolish them as quickly as possible."

The authors of the appeal urge parliamentarians from civilized countries to focus their attention on what is happening in Russia. This is especially important, they believe, because having concentrated the mass media in its hands, the supreme power is exerting powerful pressure on public consciousness and misleading it.

Supreme Court Rules on Protest on SCSE Case

PM1106103393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Valeriy Rudnev report: "SCSE Case: General Prosecutor's Office Protest Off the Agenda"]

[Text] The Russian Supreme Court Presidium on 9 June removed from the agenda [snyal s obsuzhdeniya] the protest from Russian Federation Deputy General Prosecutor Eduard Denisov on the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] case. This means that the General Prosecutor's Office objections to the Supreme Court Military Collegium's ruling will not be an obstacle to the further hearing of the case.

We will remind you that the judges decided to halt the SCSE case until real guarantees were received from the legislature of the independence of the state prosecution team from influence brought to be bear by General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov, who has been found guilty by the courts of a violation of the law. The Supreme Soviet has still not ruled on the matters raised by the Court, thus introducing a certain amount of delay into proceedings.

As for the prosecutor's protest, its conclusions were hardly discussed at the Russian Supreme Court Presidium session. The reason for that, we believe, was another violation of judicial procedure by the Prosecutor's Office. The fact is that at this stage, because of the continuous nature of the trial, it cannot be switched from the Military Collegium to a supervisory court [nadzornaya instantsiya]. And without a case it is impossible to examine the conclusions of the General Prosecutor's Office protest. Consequently, the Supreme Court Presidium's ruling was brief—to remove the matter from the agenda.

The protest may be examined by a supervisory court only if the [lower] court rules to send back the case for further investigation or to pass sentence.

Russian Federation Deputy General Prosecutor Eduard Denisov refused to comment on the Russian Supreme Court Presidium ruling.

Article Views Russia's 'Path to Freedom'

PM1506113193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Political expert Boris Pugachev article: "From Declaration of Sovereignty to War of Constitutions"]

[Text] Just three years have elapsed since Russia's Declaration of State Sovereignty was adopted. A whole epoch seems to have gone by. An epoch of hopes, struggle, and disappointments. Adopted by the First Congress of Deputies, the declaration expressed a general impulse for freedom, for a break with the daily lies of our life. It was this break with the evil endlessness of totalitarianism—a break embodied by this time in Gorbachev's cunning leadership—that elevated everything honest in Russia in a mighty impulse and inspired confidence in the irreversibility of the changes. In the person of Yeltsin, Russia sought to divine the expresser of its secret hopes in a desire to rid itself of the dominion of the "pitcher-mugs" [hook-nosed stereotyped officials in Gogol book] of the nomenklatura, who had ordered the people about for decades.

The democratic impulse was indestructible at the time—the rallies and marches in Moscow in the winter and spring of 1991 were really impressive. Yeltsin's bid for the presidency was also unstoppable. It was he who embodied the hopes for change at the time. Change for the better....

When, during the days of August 1991, the present "nonconfederates"—Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Rutskoy—staked their own lives for the sake of the country's freedom, this united everyone. The August days were, in fact, the time when the impossible seems to have happened—the entire pyramid of communist power collapsed, and this power fell into the hands of the democrats. It did so unexpectedly for themselves....

But this was also the time when the veracity of our hopes and the new leaders' promises was tested. The people who personified Russian freedom in our consciousness had now become the real power. This was when the disappointments and the internal splits began.

Russia's path to freedom is thorny. There is a great danger that a further wave of tyranny will again swamp the country and thrust it back.

Everything seems to have changed. And nothing changes....

The "secret" dissolution of the USSR should have put us all on our guard. The solemnly proclaimed Russian principles of state sovereignty enshrined the postulate of the independence of real people's power from the communist chimera; it did not signify the government's independence of the people. Precisely this break was accomplished behind the people's backs and was sanctified by the presidency and the parliamentary authority. Carried out thoughtlessly and hastily and without compassion for the people's destinies, it could not fail to lead to alienation from the "democratic" power for many millions for whom the concept of the motherland embraced the whole Union state. We are faced with gathering the bitter fruits of those decisions for a long time to come.

The spirit of "Kremlin secrecy" is being revived. In its cupidity the democratic bureaucracy has outstripped the old, "contemptible" bureaucracy. Come, come, is it an old bureaucracy! The people are still the same: yesterday vehement communists, today implacable "antis." The country is collapsing, and the new-old rogues circle over it like carrion crows. A. Rutskoy has accused half the government of messing up the country and has submitted 11 suitcases of documents relating to theft by the state's top officials. It has dropped like a stone in water. The ends cannot be found. There are no guilty parties.

There is division and disorder in society, and the country is on the verge of disintegration. Yet the authorities are grappling at close quarters, testing out which is the chief among them. The "constitutional games" have been undertaken with one aim—to crush one of the authorities underfoot and, in fact, to make the presidency the chief power.

But are the people concerned about this today?

What we need most of all is statesmanship and concern for our common home. A statesman is not an ambitious dignitary in a prominent post. We had enough such people in the past, and there are plenty of them today.

True, a great deal has turned out other than the way we conceived it or the way we wanted to do it. There is a large number of people who no longer believe in the slogans of freedom and democracy which inspired us only yesterday. But we must not get disheartened, remembering that powers come and go. The country and the people remain. It is possible to lose faith in the meaning of our life and the wisdom of our rulers. But we cannot lose faith in Russia's future; we do not have that right.

Westernization of Russia Seen as 'Impassable Swamp'

PM1606120193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Article by Boris Pugachev: "Some People See Russia As 'an Organic Part of the West.' However..."]

[Text] The model of regulated "democracy," organized "from above" and well known from communist times, has been set in operation again: The Constitutional Conference has begun working.

Well, why 762 representatives? They are given full freedom to vote "for" or "against" the proposed formulas. But to vote only according to the proposals of the working commission. Given this approach it is impossible to make any fundamental alterations to the president's draft. Simple, like all things of genius.

Before the conference it was said that its delegates were to "discuss" the 5,000 criticisms that had been received—three-to-four minutes would be allocated to each. Discuss—just discuss! The cosmetic character of the conference, designed as it is to "legitimize" the president's constitutional draft, is obvious. True, it cannot be ruled out that after the "5 June" scandal, the authorities will lose heart and accede to any compromises in order to reach their goal more "mildly." But the goal will be the same—absolute and unlimited power.

I would like to ask the question: Won't the proposed "constitutional games" be the next step to the disintegration of a country, this time Russia? And so that there should be no suspicions of opportunism in this approach (suggestions that the author has been listening too much to the "red-browns"), it would be no bad idea to refer to the views of "respectable" people who support the "democratic" course of the present authorities.

I confess, I was initially disheartened by the straightforwardness of Western experts' views on our Russian future. Thus, the fairly well-known U.S. political scientist Richard Pipes asked in March 1992 (his article was immediately reprinted in Russia): "Why does Russia's salvation lie in disintegrating until nothing is left of its founding structures?" Because, Pipes replies, there is no other way that Russia can rid itself of its patrimonial—"native"—mentality and the communist cadres that are the incarnation of this mentality. Radical surgery of this kind is the prerequisite of "any true progress."

But in March 1992 the CPSU no longer existed as a "founding structure." It was unclear what founding structures were being talked about then. True, Yeltsin's "struggle" with the Congress, which began in March, has today expressed itself as a more or less integral concept. The president actually expounded it at the Constitutional Conference: The system of the soviets is genetically unsuited to "democratic" Russia. Here you have

another "founding structure" ripe for abolition. Indeed, the president mentioned something earlier about a "purge" of cadres.

Undoubtedly, the logic of Boris Yeltsin's actions does not stem directly from R. Pipes' arguments. But the "parallelism" of the two approaches leaves a certain unpleasant taste in the mouth. What other "founding structures" should be abolished in the name of the "salutary" disintegration of Russia? And what if Russia itself is predestined to disintegrate? Such a scenario is already being "calmly" discussed in Moscow's intellectual milieu. The brilliant, paradoxical Russian political scientist D. Olshanskiy believes that "the cup should be drained to the lees." The Union collapsed—Russia is collapsing. The episode with Chechnya is only one more confirmation of this. There will be more to come. The autonomies will begin to "leave," then the regions (for example, in the form of "free economic zones"), then smaller and smaller breakaway entities will emerge. And so on and so forth—cities, quarters, blocks, apartments, the family.

"It is not the family, but the individual who is becoming the atomic unit of disintegration." You can argue with D. Olshanskiy about the rightfulness of the linear extrapolation of the dynamics of "disintegration." But where I cannot agree with him in principle is where he claims that Russians in effect no longer exist as an in any way unified, integral ethnic group, as a real community, possessing a unified, specific self-awareness. For the time being, thank God, the Russian people are alive and well. But the author has accurately caught the trend toward disintegration. Already there have been proposals to create a small Russian republic for Russians "by way of a symbol."

And what about the authorities? Well, the authorities are drifting with the current. Yeltsin's policy on this issue is the spit and image of Gorbachev's. In his speech at the Constitutional Conference Yeltsin spoke about the "unitary nature" of Russia, and energetically maneuvered them toward the idea of the need to change Russia's last "founding structure"—the state itself in the shape of the existing system of the federal organs of power.

But, by implementing such a state reform "from above" (whereas it can and should be implemented but only "from below," by all Russia, in the shape of its krays, oblasts, republics, and autonomous formations), Yeltsin is involuntarily becoming hostage to the separatist aspirations exisiting in Russia. Aspirations for the time being of a cautious and temporizing minority. But, in waging a battle to abolish the current legislative and constitutional-judicial organs of federal power, the ruling political group is involuntarily becoming hostage to ethnocratic and topocratic circles. There is an extremely great danger that the "constitutional games" that have been inaugurated could accelerate the process of the state disintegration of the country.

Do the current authorities understand this? Judging by their suicidal steps, they most likely do not.

True, even in the event of Russia collapsing new forecasts will be compiled and fresh advice given. In NOVOYE VREMYA in May an anonymous "memorandum" appears—"how to make Russian democracy irreversible"—expressing, the foreword to the article says, feelings which have "currency in the higher echelons of the U.S. establishment."

I can confirm that, indeed, such thoughts are being expressed in U.S. political circles. A week before the publication of this "memorandum" I had occasion to hear something similar to that which is expounded in the anonymous document from A. Yanov—a distinguished and original commentator on current affairs—in his public address.

But let us return to the anonymous document itself. It observes the pro-Western tendency of the Yeltsin government's current course, and notes the extremely reduced social support for its implementation. The solution is to transfer to Russia the model of "nonoccupation co-participation" ["neokkupatsionnoye souchastiye"]—the model used by the Americans in postwar occupied Japan.

The goals of this policy in Russia are spelled out quite clearly: "The real imperative of the policy of co-participation lies solely in the need to educate the American [as published] political elite, the mass media, and public opinion in the spirit of this policy before pro-American sympathies in Russia finally evaporate."

We should know the sketches of our "future" being drawn up for us. Of course, the authors thoroughly avoid the expressions "occupation regime" and "occupation government." They speak only of "co-participation"—"there is no doubt that, technically, this policy of nonoccupation co-participation should be incomparably more subtle and sophisticated." But the authors do not conceal the tasks of the "Westernization" of Russia—to make Russia "an organic part of the West."

That's all, Messrs. "democrats." And you go on about "red-browns" and "communo-fascists." Shouldn't we take a look at another imminent danger—the "nonoccupation co-participation" of the future lords of Russia? And are they not already today the true masters of the situation in the country? I remember that in the days of the "August putsch" something was already being said about Russia's complete de facto dependence on the West, which bound the "conspirators" themselves hand and foot.

I blame no one. Neither Gorbachev nor Yeltsin, by dint of their party origins, the very "Soviet" milieu from which they emerged, could have realized what a threat such "freedom" potentially poses to Russia. But the intelligentsia! Its choice should be more mature.

However, the "liberal" intelligentsia blindly followed A. Sakharov, forgetting the warnings of A. Solzhenitsyn, who, as long ago as 1969, in a polemic with A. Sakharov, convincingly considered that "unlimited, superficial freedom of itself will certainly not save us." This is why A. Solzhenitsyn proposed finding our own paths, different from the West, for the state structure of Russia.

In their "perestroyka" fervor our homegrown "liberals" were unanimous with the "Westerner" ideologues of "Democratic Russia," not heeding the warnings of L. Gumilev, who wrote that, of course, it is possible to try to enter the circle of civilized peoples. "But, unfortunately, nothing is given for free. It should be realized that the price for Russia's integration with Western Europe at all events will be total rejection of native traditions and subsequent assimilation."

Perhaps it is not yet too late for all of us together—"democrats" and "patriots"—to ponder Russia's fate. After all, the present authorities, demonstrating yet again their intellectual impotence, could lead the country into an impassable swamp from which it will be a hundred times more difficult to extricate ourselves than from the quagmire of communism.

Economic Issues

Government Set To Keep Budget Deficit at 10 Percent

LD1606090893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0805 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—The Russian Government is set to decrease the budget deficit in 1993 and adopted a resolution instructing the Finance Ministry to prepare a lawbill "on specifying the indicators of the republican budget of the Russian Federation in 1993".

The lawbill is to fix the budget deficit at no more than 10 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product in June 1993 prices.

At the same time ministries and departments were ordered to cut their expenses by 20 per cent.

Soskovets Against 'Uncontrolled' Fuel Price Increases

LD1506124193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Uncontrolled fuel price increases to world levels in Russia are not permissible, Oleg Soskovets, first vice prime minister said today. He was speaking at an enlarged session of the parliamentary Industry and Energy Committee. Soskovets also stated that the present complex situation of the Russian economy is of a temporary nature.

Soskovets: Privatization 'Pivotal' to All Economic Change

MK1606104093 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "In the White House" rubric: "Oleg Soskovets Meets With Parliamentarians"]

[Text] Privatization of state-owned enterprises will not only be the key direction of reform, but will become pivotal to all economic change, stated Oleg Soskovets, first deputy Council of Ministers chairman, when meeting with parliamentarians at the White House yesterday.

He explained that privatization's distinguishing feature, at least in the first stage, "is not so much the changing economic status of the producers, as mainly putting a legal seal of approval on the redivision of property that has actually taken place." In his words, "one of the state's most important tasks should be the setting of priorities and stimulation of the development of privatized enterprises, coordination of their activities in line with an effective structural policy." Oleg Soskovets informed the deputies that a program of the government's privatization effort in 1993 was in the stage of completion.

Speaking of state support for small businesses, the first vice premier observed that it should be aimed at the creation of the infrastructure essential for their development, and at financial assistance. He listed among the measures of this support preferential taxes and preferential loans, as well as investments to create additional jobs and to expand exports.

Roundtable Session Discusses Economy 9 Jun

PM1506094593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Andrey Sharapov report under "Roundtable" rubric: "National Accord Pact"]

[Text] On 9 June the work of the sixth session of the "roundtable" formed in January of this year by the presidium of parliament and by the government was opened by Yuriy Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. He proposed discussing the draft National Economic Accord Declaration, whose signing by various political forces could become the basis of joint activity to overcome the economic crisis.

The members of the working group—specialists A. Milyukov, I. Ivanov, and B. Yeremenko—familiarized those present with the principal provisions of the declaration. Today there are far more coincidences in views

on the implementation of socioeconomic transformations than before. The chief contradictions are focused in 10-15 basic problems, which should be discussed in detail.

The declaration voices the opinion that the reform aimed at forming a market-type economy must be socially oriented, mixed, and based on a diversity of forms of ownership and management. The main tasks in the sphere of the economy today are a coordinated struggle against inflation and the production slump and the stabilization of living standards. It is proposed to return to the Central Bank's establishment of an official rate for the ruble, while at the same time preserving and developing the currency exchange—for which the compulsory sale of 50-percent of currency earnings by exporters is to be replaced by a 20-percent currency tax, with the remaining currency being placed at the exporters' free disposal.

Taking into account the experience of a number of West European countries (Spain, France, Italy), it is proposed to conclude national solidarity pacts on the main sociopolitical problems. As regards the work of the "roundtable," after the positions have been defined more precisely it will be possible to embark on the signing of the National Economic Accord Declaration. It could become a basis for the government to draw up more detailed programs in the main areas for overcoming the crisis.

The participation in the "roundtable's" work of prominent economists such as Petrakov and Yasin and of party blocs which gravitate toward centrist positions ("Civic Union," the Congress of Left-Wing Forces) gives hopes that all sections of society will become aware of the ideas of national reconciliation and accord.

Transport Enterprises Discuss Need for Investment

LD1606042693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1345 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Petrenko]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jun—Forty percent of the transport enterprises in Russia have already changed their form of ownership, and by the end of the year this figure will reach 70 percent. A monopolist in air transportation like Aeroflot alone has divided up into more than 100 independent organizations.

However, like other industries, this important sphere of the national economy is coming up against great difficulties. The prospects for resolving them have also become a subject of conversation at the international conference "Improvement of the transport and road complex of Russia," which opened at the international trade center today. The participants in this forum inter.d to work out, on the basis of world experience, a strategy for running the complex on market lines. Therefore the results of the studies by experts of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] together with specialists from the Russian Transport Ministry, which were presented at the conference, have evoked great interest. For 18 months they studied the state of affairs in Russia's transport economy and determined the main directions for inputs of foreign investments and other forms of assistance on the part of the international community.

Here the choice is more than wide. For this year the Transport Ministry is proposing to invest 400-500 billion rubles, which is only half of the necessary funds, in roads alone. Therefore the participants in the conference think investments from abroad could help make up for the shortfall in transport funds. The experts from the EBRD not only made an analysis of the state of the transport complex in Russia, but also outlined priority programs into which the funds could be channelled; for example, for the implementation of such projects as "Airports of Russia," including the reconstructon of Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport, the building of a grain terminal in the Maritime Kray port of Vostochnyy, and the development of roads costing 300 million dollars. "A number of them have been examined by the government and have received approval," said Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, speaking at the opening of the conference. "We will give priority to those projects that are most cost effective and efficient."

At the same time, speaking of the forms of cooperation, EBRD Vice President Mario Sarcinelli said the bank is capable of rendering assistance in the processes that are taking place in Russian transport by means of investments, the handing over of new technologies, and consultations.

Entrepreneurs' Election Bloc To Stress U.S. Expertise

MK1606105093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 1

[Yevgeniy Yanayev, Sergey Muravyev report in "Entrepreneurs Getting Ready for Elections" column: "Business Circles Looking for Allies in Election Bloc"]

[Text] Yesterday in Moscow City Hall a joint press conference was held by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, head of EPI-Center; and Konstantin Zatulin, chairman of the organizing committee of the Entrepreneurs for New Russia movement. It was devoted to the movement's 18 June constituent congress which will discuss the emerging bloc's election platform. Observers point out that the congress will finalize the formation of a right of center pre-election bloc that is being created by well-known Russian entrepreneurs.

As Grigoriy Yavlinskiy told the press conference, the country's economy could find itself in the most difficult situation as soon as next fall while the rate of production decline and inflation levels could reach an all-time high. According to Yavlinskiy, the adoption of a new constitution would hardly be able to improve the situation in

the country seriously since both the president's and the parliament's drafts grant Russia's regions too much independence which would only aggravate the economic chaos.

Konstantin Zatulin said that the congress of the Entrepreneurs for New Russia movement would discuss the theses of the movement's election program which might also become a program for the future election bloc. Apart from representatives of the business community, it will include a number of parties and movements of liberal-conservative orientation who support the Russian entrepreneurs' aspiration to create the so-called right center.

Zatulin gave to understand that the new election bloc would distance itself from the election bloc of presidential team members.

During preparations for elections entrepreneurs will be mainly using the experience of political scientists from the United States. Konstantin Zatulin, for instance, met a few days ago with former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Zbigniew Brzezinski, a well-known U.S. political figure.

Cost of Paid Services 'Outstrips Inflation'

PM1606105193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 6

[Report by Irina Goryacheva of the Russian Government economic situation center: "Rise in Prices for Services Outstrips Inflation"]

[Text] Paid services to the population have increased in cost by 250 percent over the first five months of this year. That exceeds the inflation index by a factor of 1.3.

In May prices for services to the population rose 26 percent, which is the smallest monthly increase since the start of the year. The greatest increase in prices has been for cinema tickets (70 percent over the month), the cost of keeping children in preschool institutions (43 percent in a month), vouchers for rest homes (40 percent), and stays in hotels (35 percent). In May there was no change in prices for the services of laundries, intercity telephone communications, rail travel, and notaries' services. It is true that state dues for certifying wills set by notaries' offices in March-April were unprecedented (the increase in April was 314 times compared to December).

Some prices for services to the population (travel on passenger transport, housing and municipal services, and so forth) are regulated administratively at federal or local level. At the same time the cost of hairdressers, dry cleaners, and laundries is increasingly formed on the free market. But inasmuch as a unified market is a long way from having been formed in Russia, levels of prices for services in different cities differ very substantially: For individual types of consumer services by a factor of nearly 100 and for medical services by a factor of 69. The cost of motor transport travel differs by a factor of five to 10 in different cities.

Military Issues

Percent of Military Budget Spent on Arms Reduced

PM1606083793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "Only 23 Percent of Russia's Military Budget Spent on Arms"]

[Text] This situation has arisen in connection with the withdrawal of Russian troops and the increase in funds earmarked for servicemen's social needs and maintenance.

Whereas previously 70 percent of the military budget was spent on arms, today only 23 percent goes on arms. The remaining sum has to go to maintain the Russian Army. This was stated at an international seminar entitled "defense policy in a democratic society: Who controls the military budget and how" by Aleksandr Piskunov, deputy chairman of the parliamentary committee for questions of defense and security.

Strategic Missiles Forces' Standard 'Has Not Declined'

PM1506122193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Dolinin report: "Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander in chief of Strategic Missile Forces: "Life Goes On. Combat Training Is in Progress"]

[Text] An operational assembly of combined unit and large strategic formation top brass and central apparatus officers and generals has taken place over two days in the Missile Forces. The results of the winter training period were summarized, and immediate prospects were noted. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's permanent correspondent for the Strategic Missile Forces asked Colonel General Igor Sergeyev to comment on these results.

The Strategic Missile Forces commander in chief said: Combat training in the past six months was characterized by a number of difficulties. Primarily as regards its actual provision. Both in terms of people to be instructed, as well as people to organize and carry it out. There was a shortage of both. This is the main problem.

Second, there were difficulties in providing everything necessary for the training process. Fuels and lubricants, for instance. The shortages restrict mobile missile complexes most of all.

Nevertheless, verification of the combat readiness of units and subunits (one-third of divisions were checked by the Armed Forces General Staff and the Strategic Missile Forces High Command) has shown that, on the whole, officer personnel have coped with the tasks. By comparison with previous, more favorable years, the

level of combat training has not declined. All combined units were evaluated positively. The majority were viewed as good.

Where were the best results? In units where young commanders have acceded to leadership. Ardent individuals who do not shun the dirty work. Professionals.

As a rule it is precisely here that the aspiration for high results can be observed. This is also why they coped well with the difficulties. Even in places where the most complex conditions exist: where construction is going on or regiments are being taken off alert duty...

The results of combat training in these units are actually higher. A paradox? In some ways, yes. But a pleasant paradox.

What prevents us from moving forward more confidently? Poor organization in introducing general military regulations.

...Ahead lies the verification of missile combined units' propensity for upgrading to higher levels of combat readiness. We are preparing for this.

The main point is to maintain the grouping in a combat-ready state and to preserve the balance of strategic nuclear forces.

So the taste for combat training in the Missile Forces has not dwindled at all. It sets the tone in the life and activity of missile specialists.

Misuse of Trained Contract Personnel Hits Recruitment

PM1606104593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 3

[Captain Boris Soldatenko report: "I Would Be Glad To Serve... Many Potential Contract Military Personnel Are Put Off by Lack of Information About Their Future Duties"]

[Text] The Russian Defense Ministry anticipates that legislative documents on a mixed method of manning the Armed Forces will be prepared and adopted by 1994. According to Armed Forces General Staff plans, the number of contract military personnel among enlisted men and NCO's will increase to 30 percent of the total strength by 1995 and 50 percent by the year 2000.

Professionals are much needed by the Army. But, given that a virtually new category of serviceman is coming into service, it is really essential to expand the appropriate legal base too. I saw that for myself when I visited the Moscow City Induction Center. People who want to serve under contract come to the military commissariat. Here they will be able to obtain information about all their future benefits. But it is virtually impossible anywhere to find out what such enlisted men and NCO's are to do specifically or what the range of their service duties is.

Today the capital's military commissariats are offering servicemen discharged into the reserve and women the opportunity to enter service on contract in military establishments and military units located in Moscow and the immediate Moscow region in the specialisms of driver, deputy platoon commander, senior cook, senior clerk, section commander, printer, mechanic and driver, rifleman, and draughtsman. Specialisms in the communications troops are also an option.

You might think that ex-soldiers would be offered appropriate specialisms, and not somewhere beyond the Urals, but right in the capital, at the Armored Troops Military Academy, for example. But many potential contract military personnel that I got to speak with state that they have doubts, as it is unclear to date what living conditions will be like or what kind of service they will have to perform.

And this disquiet is understandable. At the Moscow City Induction Center I was told about contract military personnel arriving at the 201st Division, which is stationed in Tajikistan. Of the twenty-two originally interested only seven enlisted men and NCO's actually arrived at the unit. And the main reason why the others went back on the decision they had made was that their work was not being used for the purpose designated, that they were not being used as skilled specialist but as auxiliary workers.

Border Troops To Enforce Sea of Okhotsk Fishing Ban

PM1606083393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 93

[By Yuriy Korovkin—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Korovkin] Northeast Border District naval and air force units and fish protection bodies have been ordered to prevent vessels of all nationalities without exception from fishing in the Sea of Okhotsk as from 15 June.

The legal basis for resolving the protracted conflict, which has arisen over the 3 percent of the surface area of the Sea of Okhotsk which constitutes international waters, is a Russian Supreme Soviet resolution dated 16 April. In that area South Korea, Japan, China, and, strange as it may seem, most of all Poland have been depleting Russian pollock reserves. Under the resolution Russia has assumed responsibility for conserving the unique fish reserves of the Sea of Okhotsk, which have been undermined by ruthless fishing. Last year alone foreign vessels caught around one million tonnes of pollock here.

General Biketov [name as heard], commander of the Northeast Border District, has said that Russian border troops are ready to enforce implementation of the Supreme Soviet resolution banning fishing in the Sea of Okhotsk. Fishing may be resumed here only after an

international conference involving all interested parties. Negotiations have already begun.

Military Press Discuss Publications, Goals

OW1606111293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian at 0036 GMT on 12 June, in their regularly scheduled "Aty-Baty" program, carry a 15-minute video report on a roundtable discussion with representatives of military publications and members of the Humanitarian Academy. During the discussion, which is moderated by an unidentified reporter, the officials comment on issues of concern to the military press.

Colonel V.S. Pavlov, head of the Humanitarian Academy's Department of Journalism, speaks first and emphasizes the need for a professional military press as a part of a professional army. Next, Col. V.G. Malikov, head of the Humanitarian Academy faculty, says the military should be reading military publications first and foremost because "military publications discuss current problems using professional language." He adds: "The military press is meant for the soldier and the officer."

The video cuts to a street interview with unidentified soldiers who say that they do not read military publications because they are not interested in the issues presented in these publications. The video returns to the roundtable discussion, where the reporter asks about the objectivity of the military press. Col. R.V. Boykov of VOIN ROSSII responds by noting that the civilian press is not always completely objective, adding that differences exist between various civilian newspapers. The video cuts to interviews with owners of newspaper kiosks, who say that interest in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is minimal and that each of them sell no more than 10 copies a day.

Col. A.F. Gara, a teacher at the Humanitarian Academy, speaks next. He stresses that the military press has changed, adding that today it appeals to a much broader audience. As an example, he cites the magazine VESTNIK PROTIVOVOZDUSHNOY OBORONY, because it features a children's column, a humor section, and so on.

Lieutenant-Col. V.M. Shevelev of the newspaper ZAKAVKAZSKIYE VOYENNYYE VEDOMOSTI follows. He stresses the importance of his newspaper as the only source of information for the Russian language population in Georgia, especially in view of the biased attitude of the Georgian media, and he goes on to laud the newspaper staff's dedication.

Lt. A.P. Rubtsov of the Khabarovsk Military District newspaper SUVOROVSKIY NATISK follows by discussing changes in coverage. He says: "We print almost anything. There is no censorship nowadays, and there is no pressure at all. There are no forbidden subjects in the military press today."

Lt.-Col. A.L. Vetakh of the newspaper SOLDAT OTECHESTVA comments on the role of military publications. He says the publications' main role is protecting the welfare of the military. In answering the reporter's question as to whether a newspaper can protect the rights of military personnel when they are being abused by a military district commander, he says: "This would be a difficult thing to do."

Lt.-Col. Shevelev then comments on changes in the military press. He says that while in the past the military press reported solely on military subjects, today it raises meaningful questions on topical subjects largely ignored by the civilian press—subjects such as the plight of Russian officers left behind in former Soviet republics.

Next, Lt.-Col. V.P. Astashev of the North Caucasus Military District comments on the point of view presented by military publications. He says: "The military press should strive to express the Defense Ministry's views on events. There is no need to be ashamed of this. This will create a complete picture."

The reporter asks whether some kind of center exists which is responsible for coordinating the efforts of all military publications.

Col. Malikov answers the question by saying that there is still no unified view that governs the activities of the military press. He says: "We feature both service and special information. We have officers for information and public relations, and we offer press services, interpersonal communications, and briefings for officers on social and humanitarian activities. We have four or five powerful branches, but their activities are not coordinated at all."

Col. Malikov concludes by elaborating on the need to create a coordinating center that would include several press services. Such a center, according to Malikov, would determine the desired fields of coverage and, consequently, determine the required number of military publications.

Yeltsin Challenged To Intervene on Guards Behalf

PM1506102793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 8

[Report by Yuriy Feofanov of ZAKON magazine: "Very Dangerous To Steal Beer From Presidential Dachas"]

[Text] A can of beer has been stolen from Russia. For the sake of justice, let me clarify that—four cans of beer. And not from Russia, but from its president; but if he personifies the state, and is moreover the guarantor of legality within it, then... True, the beer was snatched not from the president's table but from the Zavidovo estate; but, after all, that is the president's out-of-town residence. So that there is every reason to claim that a bold attempt was perpetrated... well, maybe not on the life of the head of the Russian state, to a certain degree not even

on his health, but quite probably on his temper: It is no joke to be left without beer!

A serious, if not especially grievous crime. Moreover, there are aggravating circumstances: This attempt on the supreme commander in chief was perpetrated by the Army itself, in the person of two enlisted men on basic service, Aleksandr Reshetov and Mikhail Gusev: They were appointed to guard the residence, and consequently the life, health, and temper of its master, and they...

Need it be said that the guardians of the law and the Russian Armed Forces could do nothing else but cast aside all other crimes, however serious—secondary in comparison with this—and launch themselves on the trail of the malefactors. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told in the Tver Oblast Military Prosecutor's Office that "after the discovery of the loss, on-the-spot investigation measures were started by the command authorities, in the course of which the felons were detained on the same day." Even without the TASS report I can assume that the case was entrusted to the most experienced investigators. How else to explain the fact that, on the same day, "both soldiers confessed to the crime."

Here the operational investigation activity ended. The case of the beer theft was conducted by the Tver Garrison military prosecutor, and the court at the same garrison sentenced the two enlisted men—Reshetov and Gusev—each to a year's loss of freedom in a disciplinary battalion, which, as is well known, is worse than prison. For four cans of beer.

To moralize in the given instance is probably too banal. I will not try. However, I cannot refrain from a juridical "annotation." The annals of English jurisprudence contain the following precedent. A hungry kid stole a bun when the owner of the store left for a moment without locking up. The thief was caught, and in justification he said: "I was hungry, m'lord." The baker insisted that the thief be punished: "The law is the law." Yes, said, the judge, the law is the law; therefore, under the law of Queen Elizabeth I "for leaving a store unlocked, I sentence you to one day's imprisonment and a financial penalty, and the youth I vindicate by virtue of his extreme need."

Beer, of course, is not bread; and a precedent, and an English one at that, is not binding on us. But for some reason I have formed the conviction that, if the Russian president finds out about this case, he will pardon the two enlisted men and, as far as it is in his power, demote the military jurists to the ranks. What they really need to be doing is catching and convicting some of the dangerous criminals involved in stealing and trying to sell missiles.

It is a pity about the beer, of course, especially since it was not possible to extract it from the thieves. And stealing is bad—ten days each "in the can" would have been appropriate.

Former Naval Chief Publishes Revealing Book

MK1606095093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 6

[RIA report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Chief Commander Talks of Old Times"]

[Text] Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin, former USSR Navy commander-in-chief, cites some previously unknown facts of the USSR Navy history in his book "The Fleet in the Fate of Russia" ["Flot v Sudbe Rossii"]. They relate in particular to events of February 1988 when U.S. Naval ships intruded into USSR territorial waters, the situation in Foros [Gorbachev's retreat in Crimea] in August 1991, details of the sinking of the K-8 nuclear submarine in 1970, and so forth.

The book has been published by the "Andreyevskiy Flag" publishers. According to the publishers, the admiral wrote his first book on his own, without assistance from writers or journalists.

Supreme Soviet

Parliamentary Committees Support Conference

LD1506141093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1343 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—A meeting of the Russian parliament presidium began today with a statement of Deputy Sergey Baburin, read out by speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov.

The deputy sent in his resignation from the post of subcommittee chairman of the Committee on Legislation, saying the committee "has become a center to undermine the Russian legislative power".

The thing is that a joint meeting of Committees on Legislation, Defence and Security and Human Rights was held under the chairmanship of Mikhail Mityukov to voice, in Baburin's words, the support to the presidential constitutional conference and its decisions and denounce attempts of the parliament and its leaders to find other ways to elaborate a draft new Russian constitution.

"I do not question the right of colleagues to support the president in his striving to hold parliament elections in fall, 1993, raise this or that conference to the congress level or criticize specific articles of the Constitution. But I cannot agree with the use of official parliament committees to ruin constitutional fundamentals and hit a blow on parliamentary structures of the political system," says Baburin's statement.

"I request esteemed colleagues to abstain from attempts to aggravate rows and quarrels. We have the Supreme Soviet, at whose meetings we have the right to raise any

questions. But I cannot help agreeing with the estimation of facts mentioned by Sergey Baburin," said Khasbulatov, commenting on the document.

The speaker instructed his deputies Vladimir Ispravnikov and Valentin Agafonov "to investigate into the matter and speak to the committee heads: this is no way to work".

In his turn, Mikhail Mityukov noted "Deputy Baburin has not worked in the legislation committee for three years".

Khasbulatov Responds to Regions in 10 Jun Phone-In

PM1406130193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandra Lugovskaya: "R. Khasbulatov Taken Ill During Telephone Linkup"]

[Text] Yu. Marechenkov, head of the Supreme Soviet press service, held a briefing in the White House on 10 June on the results of the morning's telephone linkup between the parliamentary leadership and representatives of all levels of Russian soviets.

Around 70,000 people in 2,012 radio studios participated in the 90-minute dialogue on the progress of the constitutional reform and the local soviets' role in it. In a brief opening address R. Khasbulatov set out the Supreme Soviet's stance and, in particular, announced the decision by the 9 June session plenary sitting to delegate him to participate in the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin, and also the instructions to deliver a report at it. He stressed in particular the importance of the Constitutional Conference's observance of the five conditions put forward by parliament. R. Khasbulatov accused the executive authority of conducting an economic reform that lacked morality and constructive principles and also of inflaming political enmity in society.

During the linkup there were suggestions from the provinces that the Supreme Soviet should participate in the Constitutional Conference but should discuss there a single draft constitution to be subsequently adopted by constitutional means. The incident that occurred on 5 June was condemned in the radio studios. There was also criticism of the media for their one-sided coverage of the constitutional process and predominant support for the executive authority.

R. Khasbulatov backed a Lipetsk initiative on holding a Constitutional Conference in June under the Supreme Soviet's auspices, with the participation of the members of the Federation and all political forces involved in the constitutional process. He promised to discuss this idea at the Supreme Soviet.

Another interesting initiative was proposed by Orenburg—once the draft constitutions have been correlated only the controversial points should be put to a referendum.

Yu. Marechenkov announced that there was criticism of the Supreme Soviet and its chairman as well as support for them. Answering an IZVESTIYA question about how the pronounced political flavor of the constitutional process is regarded in the provinces, the press service chief replied that local deputies had been angry about this and had demanded a constructive approach from all branches of authority.

Yu. Marechenkov told journalists that R. Khasbulatov had been taken ill immediately after the linkup and had to go home. He said that the deterioration in the Supreme Soviet chairman's health had been due to enormous strain in recent days. It may prevent R. Khasbulatov from participating in the Constitutional Conference plenary session and delivering a report at it.

Further on Khasbulatov

OW1406130193 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 0700 GMT 11 Jun 93

[From the "Oblast News" program]

[Text] Yesterday, leaders of the Oblast Soviet and the Magadan city administration took part in the all-Russia telephone conference conducted by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The aim of the conference was to determine the attitude of the local soviets, down to the rayon and village level, toward the sensational conference in Moscow and its possible results.

Commenting on the president's speech, Khasbulatov said that the attempt by the executive arm of government to remove the soviets and the structures of state control was nothing less than an attempt to escape the control of the people, and to depart from the principles of democracy. He described the emergence of the constitutional problem at such a critical time for the country as the president's desire to divert the people's attention from the more acute and real economic problems.

More than 80 local soviets took part in the conference. Members and leaders who supported the Supreme Soviet's position, put forward a proposal for a speedy adoption of the law on widening the rights of the lower representative organs of authority. In concluding the conference, Ruslan Khasbulatov spoke about the idea of holding another constitutional conference in July of this year, this time under the auspices of the Supreme Soviet.

SCSE Chief Investigator Appointed First Deputy Procurator

LD1506140193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] According to RIA, the Supreme Soviet Presidium today appointed Yevgeniy Lisov to the post of first

deputy procurator. Ivan Nezemlyanushin, who held the post, was appointed deputy procurator. May I remind you that Yevgeniy Lisov headed the investigation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] case.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Signs Instruction on Deliveries to North

LD1606113193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0740 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jun—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed the instruction "On Abolition of Prepayment for Products (Goods) Delivered to the Areas of the Far North and to Localities Equivalent to it".

Due to the fact that a critical situation has arisen with regard to deliveries of products to the aforementioned areas, it is noted in the report of the press service of the Russian Federation president that a special procedure is being established for regulating economic ties. It envisages priority provision of foodstuffs, petroleum products, materials, and equipment to the territories of the north.

Regardless of their subordination and type of ownership, delivery and manufacturing enterprises and organizations will henceforth be able to make deliveries to the areas of the far north and to localities equivalent to it without prepayment, while delivering on their 1993 routes. The dispatching of cargoes to the areas of the far north and localities equivalent to it will be carried out on a contract of sale and with a guarantee of payment from the recipient of the cargo.

Chechnya's Dudayev Attacked as 'Incompetent Leader'

PM1606090393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Opposition Continues"]

[Text] The Chechen Republic Cabinet of Ministers headed by Yaragi Mamodayev has disseminated an appeal via the mass media to the parliaments, governments, and peoples of the United Nations and of the countries of the CIS.

It says that the government of popular trust, which was elected in accordance with the republic Constitution, declares that personal responsibility for the bloody events which took place in Groznyy at the beginning of June this year lies with Chechen Republic President Dzhokhar Dudayev. A blood feud has been declared against him in line with national traditions.

During his 18 months' residence in Chechnya, the document stresses, Dudayev, president and chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, has shown himself to be a bankrupt politician and an incompetent leader. The socioeconomic policy which he is persuing has led to the total impoverishment of the masses, an unprecedented downturn in production, unemployment, and the large-scale theft of the people's property. On the political level, Dudayev's extremism has led to the Chechen Republic's complete isolation in conditions of an undeclared blockade.

The violent dispersal of the opposition's rally, the sabotage of the referendum slated for 5 June, and the introduction of "presidential rule" and other actions by Dudayev have been deemed anticonsitutional by the republic's Constitutional Court, which has qualified them as an attempt to establish one-man power.

The appeal contains a call for the international community to condemn the bloody slaughter instituted by Dudayev in Groznyy, to cease all contacts with the antipeople regime, and "to begin immediate talks with the Chechen Republic's government of popular trust on the normalization of the situation in the republic."

At the same time the official information agency CHECHEN-PRESS also disseminated a statement referring to Chechen Republic General Prosecutor Elza Sheripova. It says that reports in the Russian mass media of a blood feud against Dudayev, the secession of three regions from the republic's jurisdiction, and an attempt on the life of opposition leader Yusup Soslanbekov do not correspond to reality.

The investigations committee, CHECHEN-PRESS reports, has set up a special group of 15 persons to investigate the circumstances of the armed clash near the building of the city assembly on 4 June. According to official statistics, 28 people were hurt, seven of whom have died. The opposition cites different figures: Around 100 hundred people were killed, more than 50 were killed, and dozens were thrown into prison dungeons.

North Ossetia, Ingushetia To Coordinate Peace Plan

LD1506200193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1711 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz June 15 TASS—The situation in the state-of-emergency zone between Northern Ossetia and Ingushetia remains very tense. According to the headquarters of the interim administration, the peacekeeping forces deployed in the zone are still provocatively brought under fire at night.

Thus, an armoured police carrier was machine-gunned from a 500-meter distance in the village of Chermen (Prigorodnyy District, Northern Ossetia). Occasional shootings went on record at the outskirts of the villages of Tarskoye and Kartsa. A house in the village of Kambilevskoye was exploded.

The crime rate in the zone reportedly remains high. For the past 24 hours 17 crimes went on record. Twelve

people who committed administrative offences were detained. Five guns, grenades, bottled inflammables, hundreds of cartridges were seized from the locals.

Unfortunately, the death toll continues to grow. In the village of Mikhailovskoye (Prigorodnyy District) an Ossetian was gravely wounded and died on the way to the hospital. In the village of Altnievo (Nazranskiy District, northern Ingushetia) an Ingush was shot to death by a gang of criminals.

According to Vladimir Ugrovatov, a representative of the Russian State Committee on Federation Affairs and Nationalities, who heads the negotiation procedure department under the interim administration, the members of the Ingush-Ossetian commision submitted a draft plan on measures aimed to settle consequences of the armed conflict in the Prigorodnyy District to the respective goverments on Tuesday [16 June]. The governments should coordinate the plan.

Constitution Not Nizhniy's 'Most Important' Problem

PM1606082593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 1

[Report by correspondent P. Orlov: "Patience Has Run Out"]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod—The leaders of Nizhniy Novgorod's industry are calling on the federal authorities to set about rescuing the ailing economy rather than indulge in political games. In an appeal to Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Chernomyrdin, the association of enterprises and organizations of Russia's largest industrial region describe the continuing decline in production. The critical situation is attributed to a government taxation policy which is not stimulating increased production, the diktat of the extraction and fuel and power sectors which is leading to chaos in the sphere of price formation, constant corrections to directives on privatization, and increasing failure to meet payments.

"The adoption of a constitution is an important matter for the country, but not the most important," the industrial leaders state. "The central issue today is the economy and the production of material goods."

Meanwhile the council of rectors of higher educational institutions [VUZ] and trade union oblast committee have also sent a telegram demanding that Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Chernomyrdin guarantee financing of VUZ's in full through 15 June. In these institutions wages for April-May have not yet been fully paid, and owing to the lack of money professors' and teachers' vacations are being ruined. There is no money to prepare academic buildings and hostels for the winter. The strained situation in the labor collectives and an atmosphere of impending strike are threatening to wreck the new academic year.

"Unless measures are adopted by 15 June we will be forced to support the strike movement"—the telegram from the trade union oblast committee and the council of VUZ rectors concludes with this ultimatum.

During the perestroyka years a lot was said about strengthening the alliance of industry and science. Today's reformers are uniting them more vigorously that the chatterboxes of the past. Unfortunately not for the sake of ensuring scientific and technical progress but simply in order to survive.

Kuril Residents Prefer To Leave for Russia

OW1506130993 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 15 June 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Residents of the Kuril Islands will join this summer the stream of refugees flowing to Russia from the hot spots at home and in the neighboring countries. Out of the 2,500 families living on the island of Shikotan, 300 stay in this faraway place only because of a lack of containers in which to ship their household effects.

Fedor Pyzhyanov, chairman of the committee for Kurils of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet, remarked that the decree on social and economic development of Kurils signed by the Russian president half a year ago has not taken effect yet. Subsidies, privileges, and other benefits provided for our most outlying islands have irrevocably sunk in the bowels of central ministries and departments.

Unsold Coal Piles Up at Kuzbass Mine

PM1506122993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Jun 93

[By Nikolay Chirkov and Viktor Voronov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Chirkov] At the Butovskaya mine, where coal is being mined at the lowest prime cost in the Kuzbass, there is absolutely no money in the kitty. Even though a simple arithmetical calculation at the mine's coal depot seems to indicate the reverse. This mountain of coal, brought to the surface by miners, is worth 420 million rubles [R]. Consumers owe miners a further R200 million.

Miners are unwilling to sell coal because people are not paying. Consumers do not want to buy because they do not have the necessary funds. The railroads do not want to convey coal for free. They are already owed almost R60 billion.

Thus the only solution seems to be to cut back coal shipments. This is what the railroads are doing. In the past 7,000 freightcars were loaded with coal here every day. Now it is a third less.

Miners insist that it is necessary to change the financial policy, strictly abide by tariff agreements, allowing for inflation, of course, and authorize miners themselves to find clients for their coal. This requires sales licenses.

Miners are going underground every day to mine coal which no one needs.

Tatarstan Political Scene, Infighting Viewed

PM1506134193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 93 p 2

[Correspondent Nikolay Morozov article: "Before Casting the Stone. Tatarstan: Political Landscape"]

[Text] Kazan—The sky covered over with dark clouds for almost the whole of May but all the time there was no rain—the plowed fields dried out, putting fear into the grain growers that there would be a fodder shortage and a crop failure. Then finally the long-awaited torrents began in many of the republic's regions. The peasants began to hope that everything would turn out all right. The political horizon also became noticeably brighter, cleared up.... But a pre-storm atmosphere developed after an unexpected statement by Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Chairman F. Mukhametshin on the republic's nonparticipation in discussing the drafts of the Russian Constitution, as the documents ignored the principles of sovereignty enshrined in Tatarstan's Fundamental Law and the findings of the draft treaty between Russia and Tatarstan. It is typical that the statement was delivered at that moment when Tatarstan President M. Shaymiyev was on a visit to Hungary and Greece.

The national-patriotic parties and movements held rallies to support the stance of the head of parliament. The following point appeared in the press of the "Sovereignty" committee: Tatarstan should not participate in the affairs of a neighboring state because, according to the new constitution, the republic is a sovereign state, an entity in international law etc.

However, a group of Tatarstan people's deputies nevertheless proposed to include the question of the attitude of the republic Supreme Soviet to the drafts of the Russian Federation constitution in the next session's agenda. Opponents of the Supreme Soviet chairman, who was the first to say "no" to discussing the draft Russian constitution, also made reference to the Tatarstan Constitution, where it says that citizens of the former autonomous formation are also simultaneously Russian citizens, and consequently they should participate in the discussion of the Federation's draft Fundamental Law.

Discussion on this subject turned out to be fairly impassioned. President Shaymiyev's argument had a decisive effect on the parliamentarians' viewpoint: It is the easiest of all things to ignore the struggle over the new Russian Federation constitution, but "if you do nothing, you cannot do anything great in politics." "We will participate in all processes where Tatarstan's interests are affected," he said.

As we know, Shaymiyev, together with other republic leaders, is included in the working group to complete work on the draft Russian Federation constitution. His preliminary assessment of the draft is a follows: The chapters concerning human rights and their defense have been worked out to a sufficiently high level of democratic principles, but it is unclear on and says little about the rights of the Federation's nations and components.

That was the end of the discussion. Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet stated that it is continuing to work on the draft Russian Federation constitution "taking into consideration the unifying principles of both draft constitutions and proposals of the Federation's components, and proceeding from the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of the Russian Federation's State Sovereignty and the Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan, and the results of the 24 March 1992 popular vote on the state status of the Republic of Tatarstan and Tatarstan's new constitution." At the same time it has been considered necessary for the federal organs of power in Russia to recognize officially the status of the Republic of Tatarstan as a sovereign state, and to include a separate provision on treaty-governed constitutional relations in the draft of the new Russian Federation constitution.

At the end of May, questions of mutual relations were discussed at a scheduled meeting of delegations led by B. Yeltsin and M. Shaymiyev. As the Tatarstan president stated on his return from Moscow, a means was found to remove the contradictions in connection with signing the treaty on relations between Tatarstan and the Russian Federation. The president said that for the first time we heard the idea that the Russian Federation Constitution could reflect a definition of relations with republics which had not signed the Federation Treaty.

But it was concrete facts which interested the journalists: How nevertheless did the meeting of the representative delegations end?

"Four agreements are absolutely ready and will soon be signed," Shaymiyev replied. "It is proposed that seven more bilateral agreements be signed in June, and the ceremony for this should take place in Kazan. And work on the 'big treaty' is planned to be completed by the end of July."

So, we have seen a dialogue between Moscow and Kazan which led not to a piling up of contradictions but to accord. Some people wish to stifle and degrade Tatarstan's "exclusive position." On the other hand, you do on the contrary hear accusations against long-suffering Russia in connection with all the ethnic problems and complaints. But there is after all a simple common sense: Before casting a stone into your neighbor's garden, you should consider whether or not it will be thrown back....

In the Meantime...

A case is being prepared in the Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Court in which President Shaymiyev will appear in the role of aggrieved party. Another president—that of the All-Tatar Public Center—Z. Agliullin will take his place among those accused of urging physical violence against Shaymiyev. He has accused President Shaymiyev of betraying his people's interests and the concept of state sovereignty, and appealed for decisive actions from his comrades in arms in the national-patriotic movement. Moreover, the All-Tatar Public Center's leader also proposed specific forms of punishment: Cutting off Shaymiyev's ears and nose and shooting him in the head.... A telegram bearing his signature and with the following contents arrived at the Kazan kremlin: "To Shaymiyev. You have betrayed the Tatar people, sold us for Russian vouchers. The People's Assembly in the city of Naberezhnyye Chelny has sentenced you to death."

No, it evidently was no coincidence that the Tatarstan president signed a law on emergency measures to combat crime the other day. Enough's enough, as they say.

International Affairs

Statement Denies Nuclear Warheads Sold to PLO

LD1506152293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] The Cabinet press secretary issued a statement rejecting as slanderous a report published by the Moscow-based (AL-KABAZ) newspaper, issued in Russian and Arabic and subsequently reprinted by Israel's Russian-language NOVOSTI NEDELI and NASHA STRANA newspapers about Ukraine having allegedly sold two nuclear warheads to the Palestinian Liberation Organization for $30 million.

In view of the report, the press secretary says he is authorized to flatly deny them for Ukraine has never sold any nuclear warheads to anyone and has no intention whatsoever of doing so. All tactical nuclear weapons were withdrawn from Ukraine back in 1992, while the strategic warhead issue is currently debated by the Verkhovna Rada and the country's other highest instances, the statement says.

The Ukrainian Embassy press service in Israel was quick in responding to the publication. The juridical service of the Cabinet is reported to be considering the issue of instituting legal proceedings against (AL-KABAZ) for having disseminated slanderous information detrimental to Ukraine's international image and prestige.

Parliament Official Discusses START I With John Hardt

AU1506181993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 12 Jun 93 p 2

[Statement by the Press Service of Ukraine's Supreme Council: "The Dialogue Is Becoming Uninterrupted"]

[Text] On 10 June, First Deputy Chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council Vasyl Vasylyovych Durdynets received John Hardt, associate director of the U.S. Congress Research Service.

The conversation, which proceeded in an atmosphere of sincere respect and mutual understanding, was a continuation of the dialogue and businesslike cooperation that have become practically uninterrupted.

Vasyl Vasylyovych Durdynets briefed the guest on the entire spectrum of practical deeds and problems that the Parliament of independent Ukraine had to deal with. It is precisely parliament that has become the state's political rostrum, and it is open to all. Legislators must elaborate, first and foremost and in front of everybody, laws and other legal documents on the most acute questions, documents that are so necessary for building Ukrainian statehood. These documents will ensure a consecutive and steady movement of our state and society, starting from changes in the social foundations, which are being undermined by steps towards the market that are not always properly weighed, and ending with such problems as the country's internal and external security and the establishment of order in the state. Today, concluded Vasyl Vasylyovych, we have enough problems: From preparing for the ratification of START I to resolving problems associated with the exacerbation of the social and political situation in connection with the beginning of the undeclared miners' strike. Parliament must again look for legal ways to relieve tensions.

John Hardt expressed his satisfaction with the information he had received and an understanding of the objective conditions in which the parliament of new Ukraine has to function. The guest returned to the theme that was touched upon by Vasyl Vasylyovych Durdynets on START I and on Ukraine's acquiring a nuclear-free status. He was pleased with the information that a working group of deputies created by the Ukraine Parliament has already held a meeting and worked out a procedure for further work on the draft decree concerning these questions. He also advanced proposals on possible trends of cooperation between the U.S. Congress Research Service and Ukraine's Supreme Council and its secretariat.

Commentary Views Brzezinski's Advice on START I

AU1406130293 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 10 Jun 93 p 3

[Hanna Tuhay commentary: "Ratification or Isolation? American Political Scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski Does Not See Any Other Alternative for Ukraine"]

[Text] Yet another visit to Ukraine by Zbigniew Brzezinski, director of the Washington Institute of Strategic Studies, was qualified as unofficial. However, even if it had been private, this person enjoys such standing that his trip could not pass unnoticed. Add to this the following "coincidence": Brzezinski had meetings in Kiev with people ranging from the president to journalists (in the National Press Club) several days prior to the discussion of the question of START I ratification at the Supreme Council. The American guest emphasized that his one-on-one, hour long conversation with the president was, in fact, a continuation of the dialogue that was started during Leonid Kravchuk's visit to the United States.

Today, Ukraine is emerging from an informational limbo, believes Brzezinski. Even when he was looking through newspapers on board the plane, he came across several articles in such influential publications as THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE and THE WALL STREET JOURNAL that dealt with the events in Ukraine. What a miracle! One of the articles was not even a traditional philippic on the Ukrainian inflexibility regarding START. This provided grounds for optimistic predictions. The West is beginning to notice

Ukraine, and even investors, especially large corporations, see prospects for business there. The only hampering factor is the mafia and, certainly, the absence of guarantees for foreign investors, something that restrains an average businessman.

However, despite such a turn of affairs, Washington will not shift the focus of its attention from Moscow to Kiev, believes the author of the book "The Birth and Death of Communism in the 20th Century" [title as translated]. There are several reasons for this. One of them is betting on the reformer Yeltsin. We trusted Gorbachev too long, stressed Brzezinski. President Yeltsin is devoted to reforms and he is proving this by actual deeds, and, therefore, the United States gave assistance precisely to Russia. On the other hand, there is fear of a new empire if reforms suddenly choke up. At the same time, Ukraine is far behind.

Where is then our place in the external priorities of Clinton's administration?

There is a widespread opinion in the United States to the effect that Ukraine does not fulfill its obligations regarding nuclear disarmament, and this gives rise to skepticism. Consequently, not only should the United States show initiative, but this process must be mutual, believes Brzezinski.

I understand Ukraine's anxiety regarding guarantees following disarmament and the economic outlays on the elimination of nuclear missiles [says Zbigniew Brzezinski], but if I were President Kravchuk, I would do everything in order to fulfill obligations before the international community. Nuclear weapons will not provide security guarantees, but may lead the country to an isolation. This is a very bad prospect.

However strange this may appear, the American political scientist does not share anti-Russian sentiments that prevail among some of our fellow citizens. Ideally, the relations between Ukraine and Russia must resemble those between Canada and the United States: The borders are only political, and in reality there is peaceful and good neighborly coexistence of two great powers. However, this process is quite complicated and time-consuming, and there is a danger that there will be attempts to annex Ukraine, but there is no need to overdramatize the situation. If there is mutual willingness, it is not difficult to achieve this [an improvement in the relations with Russia], especially when the economy begins to improve. Here, stressed Brzezinski several times, there are no alternatives other than market relations for either Ukraine or for the whole world. However, it may take much time before hopes for Ukraine's rapid integration into the European market are implemented. The same applies to other republics of the former USSR. In this connection, President Kravchuk's initiative with which he came forward during the visit to Hungary is very positive. Therefore, the Central and Eastern European economic zone? Brzezinski considers Walesa's proposal to create a so-called NATO II not viable in every respect. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization itself is a strong military and political organization with established structures and a stable material foundation of its own. An imitation of NATO in Eastern Europe will not possess such power or authority. Besides, it may be perceived as a counterbalance to Russia and will give rise to a new wave of confrontation.

In this connection, there also exists a different possibility, believes Brzezinski: In the course of time, both Russia and Ukraine will gradually become incorporated into certain NATO structures. Incidentally, Poland may not count upon this until 1996.

Zbigniew Brzezinski views the problem of Western aid to former Soviet Union republics in a quite pragmatic way. He does not share illusions regarding programs of a "Marshall Plan" type. That was a different system based upon private ownership. However, in your country, state ownership prevails.

His attitude toward proposals that the so-called Polish variant be followed is somewhat different from those of some of our economists and reformers. It is not suitable for Ukraine, either, because over the time of building socialism, our neighbors' philosophy of entrepreneurship could not be totally destroyed. Besides, land there always belonged to private persons and there also existed other spheres of activity of private business.

In this context, it would do no harm if we heed the opinion of the prominent political scientist who predicted the bankruptcy of Communism as far back as 1989. Nobody, no overseas experience, and no overseas uncle will revive our land or build an independent Ukraine for us. It is a matter for us to do.

Ukrainian Nuclear Missile Stance Viewed

PM1506133593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Vladimir Nadein: "America by Hook, Russia by Crook; Two Approaches to a Nuclear Missile Ukraine"]

[Text] Through its defense minister Russia has expressed dissatisfaction at U.S. interference in the Russian-Ukrainian dispute over the future of the 176 ICBM's which used to belong to the Soviet Union and which have remained on Ukrainian territory. General Grachev has told the Americans that, first, these missiles are Russia's property and, second, that Russia and Ukraine will sort it all out for themselves.

The general's two theses are too contentious to build a long-term political system on. That is why U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin addressed a few sympathetic sighs to his Russian counterpart before setting off for Kiev and concluding an agreement which some U.S. newspapers have already called a giant step in the right direction.

Something for Everyone

The agreement concerns not so much the missiles as it does the 1,240 nuclear warheads for them. Experiencing justified horror in the face of the uncontrolled spread of nuclear weapons, Washington suggested that all these warheads, after being removed from the missiles, should not be removed to Russia, as previously envisaged by multilateral accords, but should remain on Ukrainian territory temporarily, and under international control.

Kiev agreed. To all appearances it was attracted by the prospect of obtaining $2.8 billion for the nuclear fuel extracted from Ukrainian missiles and reprocessed at U.S. enterprises. Previously it was believed that the reprocessing would take place in Russia, so that the Ukrainians saw the prospects of compensation as involving rubles to too great an extent.

The opinion that Washington, to the detriment of the other republics of the former Union, has become too obsessed with the exclusive importance of Russia is regarded in Kiev in general as justified and as irrefutable in the nuclear missile sphere. People here well remember the words of the previous U.S. President, George Bush, about "suicidal nationalism." Nor have they forgotten the spring of 1992, when Bush forged straight ahead, seeking agreement to serious talks from the four envious, unfriendly, mutual suspicious heirs to the USSR's nuclear might.

The result of the Lisbon conference in May last year was the signing by Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan of the nonproliferation treaty and the agreement on the gradual dismantling and removal to Russia of Soviet nuclear missile weapons and the accession of all three to the list of non-nuclear states. The eagerness with which admission to the "nuclear-free club" is proceeding is borne out by the sluggish process of ratification. Only Belarus has completed it without reservations.

Of course, Bush was pursuing U.S. national interests and using the carrot and the stick to get the new presidents to renounce the nuclear status which had descended on them. But outwardly it looked as though it was a bias in favor of Moscow. Many people in Kiev assess B. Clinton's agreement to the Vancouver meeting in just the same way, believing that the Ukrainian president needs no less Western support than the Russian president. And is no less deserving of it.

Someone Else's Football

Explaining the recent appointment of Aviation Marshal Shaposhnikov as secretary of the Security Council, B. Yeltsin said: "The nuclear forces are being transferred to Russia and to Russian jurisdiction.

Only six months ago the Russian president would probably have preferred to refrain from this direct statement. Today the wind of events is throwing up onto the Russian shore all the supercomplicated combat equipment with which the new nuclear powers simply cannot cope.

Ukrainian General Volodymyr Tolubko, well known for his radical nationalist feelings (not to be confused with his uncle, the late V.F. Tolubko, commander in chief of the USSR strategic missile forces) said in a telephone conversation with a Western correspondent: "Do you know what the word 'idiot' means? Idiots are people who give up their nuclear weapons of their own accord."

It sounds good. But President L. Kravchuk, Ukrainian Foreign Minister A. Zlenko, and Defense Minister K. Morozov, who advocate a restrained nuclear policy for their country, were probably right to give a different definition. For instance: Idiots are people who obstinately close their eyes to the obvious consequences of their actions.

Addressing a session of the Supreme Rada, Anatoliy Zlenko warned legislators that the refusal to observe the agreements which have been signed will not only create in the West an image of Ukraine as an unreliable partner but will also lead "to the reduction of economic ties and a trade embargo or even blockade." There is no doubt that President Kravchuk was also speaking with the minister's voice.

Better than anyone L. Kravchuk knows how close he is to acquiring "positive control" over strategic weapons. That is to the opportunity not only of blocking but also of launching missiles themselves. The president constantly says that his country does not need this, but he does not deny his scientists' ability to fit keys to the electromagnetic locks of the missiles in Ukraine. Russian and American experts agree that the Ukrainians need approximately six months to be completely free of Moscow's "football."

The White House believes that it must turn to face Ukraine immediately, because time will not wait.

Race Against Time

Russia is also relying on the inexorability of time, but it is drawing the opposite conclusions from this, to wit that in approximately six months it will become obvious to the Ukrainians themselves that keeping the nuclear missile potential safe is a pleasure which Kiev simply cannot afford, neither now nor in the foreseeable future.

Proceeding to all appearances from the thesis that idiots are people who pay for what they could get for nothing, the Russians are suggesting to the Americans that they refrain from any actions, allowing events to take their natural course.

Of course, behind this advice there lies not only concern for the U.S. taxpayers' money. The agreement concluded by Les Aspin in Kiev contains a number of questions to which not even its authors can yet give the answer. Analyzing the situation which is taking shape after the

positioning of nuclear missiles in Ukraine under international control, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL puts these questions like this: "What will happen if Ukraine suddenly decides it wants access to the warheads? Will the guard of international forces shoot at the people who want to take them? Must there be a vote in the United Nations to remove the warheads from this guard? Who will have the right to put them back on the missiles?"

Reward for Disobedience

To these important problems we should add those which directly affect Russia's interests as a nuclear state. Ukraine did not consult with Russia either before or during Les Aspin's visit. Yet the dismantling of former Soviet missiles under international control will turn into public property the secret codes, electromagnetic designs, and much else which is an important secret and has its own very high price for Russia.

Finally, one must consider the effect of the "reward for disobedience." In rewarding Ukraine for refusing to observe the accords signed in Lisbon Washington must consider the attention with which Minsk and Alma-Ata are following the growth of the nuclear trading. Here too there are wits among the generals. And if jokes about idiots are paid for so dearly in hard currency then both capitals may think up something comical. In both form and content.

Kuchma Assails Russian Economic 'Blackmail'

LD1506230493 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1632 GMT 15 Jun 93

[by UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksandr Litvinov]

[Text] Kiev, 15 Jun—Leonid Kuchma, prime minister of Ukraine, called Russia's economic policy toward Ukraine absolutely undisguised blackmail at a meeting that took place today with Shevah Weiss, speaker of the Knesset of the state of Israel, who is in Ukraine at the invitation of the country's Supreme Council.

No economy, noted the premier, will hold out if prices for energy carriers are going to go up by thousands of times. If Russia had experienced such economic pressure, then its national economy would have fallen apart long ago. The country's government has to act in conditions of the most severe economic crisis. The talk now, Leonid Kuchma stressed, is about whether Ukraine is to be an independent state at all. Therefore the support of the world community, and understanding on its part of the problems that the young state is coming up against, are very important to Ukraine today.

Shevah Weiss expressed understanding of the situation, in which Ukraine has ended up in, noting that Israel will contribute to supporting it in the world arena.

On the same day the speaker of the Israeli Knesset was received by Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine. The meeting proceeded in a small group behind closed doors.

The Israeli guest also had conversations today at one of the standing commissions of the Ukrainian parliament and at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, went for a tour of Kiev, visiting a synagogue, the Sofiya Museum, and Babiy Yar, where he laid flowers at the memorial to those who died. He also spoke at the plenary sitting of Ukraine's Supreme Council, held a news conference, and met representatives of Kiev's Jewish community.

The chairman of the Knesset of the state of Isreal is leaving for Lvov today.

Israeli Knesset Speaker Removed From Parliament Hall

TA1506175393 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1700 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] A grave incident occurred at the Ukrainian Parliament in Kiev after Knesset Speaker Shevah Weiss' address today. Our correspondent Hayim Hecht reports that two female parliament members approached the Knesset speaker and demanded the immediate release of Ivan Demjanjuk. Shevah Weiss responded by explaining Israeli legal procedures, upon which one of the parliamentarians called out that Jews holding senior government positions in Europe have killed Ukrainians.

Prof. Weiss then called the two young Ukrainian women anti-Semites, and in the ensuing commotion, with several parliament members surrounding him, the Knesset speaker was removed from the hall.

Weiss is now on his way to Lvov. The Ukrainian police have reported several Demjanjuk-related demonstrations in that city.

Delegation Leaves for Black Sea Cooperation Talks

LD1606003193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] A delegation from Ukraine's Supreme Council, headed by Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch, left for Turkey today. It will take part in the work of the first session of the Black Sea economic cooperation parliamentary assembly, which will take place on 16-17 June. (?This) parliamentary assembly, which representatives of parliaments of the Black Sea countries are a part of, including six former Soviet Union republics—Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine—was set up with the purpose of helping to resolve (?common) topical problems of Black Sea countries.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Addresses Parliament on Strikes, Referendum

LD1606101093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0706 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Speech by President Leonid Kravchuk to a session of the parliament in Kiev—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies! During the past 24 hours, the sociopolitical situation in Ukraine has grown even more complicated. Metallurgical plants are coming to a halt, and coke- oven enterprises and other enterprises along this chain are on the verge of a standstill. The political and economic strikes are involving more and more people. We are talking about an emergency situation, not only in the economy, but also in Ukraine's political life.

Taking all this into account, the prime minister and I are directly in touch with the coordinating committee and with [Deputy Prime Minister Yevim] Zvyagilskiy, who is directly in charge of easing the situation in the Donbass and, not only in the Donbass, but in the whole of Ukraine.

I want to say that this situation demands that we take a very careful attitude toward analysis. I want us to detach ourselves from emotions and ambitions and blame nobody: neither the miners, nor the metallurgists, nor the machine builders, nor those people in the government who are directly dealing with these issues today. They are doing their best to prevent production from coming to a halt.

The strikers and the coordinating committee have stated officially—and I am relating this to you for your information—that no other decisions by the Supreme Council, not even economic ones, though they are of tremendous importance to them, will be considered until the main political issue is settled.

What is the main political issue? It is early elections of councils at all levels and a referendum, and to hold a referendum on confidence in the president during the elections. This is the position related by the coordinating committee and other structures who are dealing directly now with the problems of organizing strikes and with those who are doing their best to stop this strike.

I appeal to you once again to analyze the situation carefully and not to allow production in Ukraine to come to a halt because, indeed, Ukraine is in danger. Speaking from this podium yesterday, I proposed to you that the Supreme Council adopt this resolution and that the people will get down to work as soon as the Supreme Council adopts it. After this, all the economic and social issues will be tackled during the course of the work. We can do this, if we set ourselves this task, including the government—the president and the Supreme Council. I believe that we have this potential, and we should use it. If we do not do this, all responsibility, the biggest responsibility, will rest with all of us, because to talk about the direct responsibility of the people—the responsibility of the miners or the metallurgists—would be a shift of emphasis.

Those in power today, all branches of power, are responsible for everything. I am asking you to take note of that and to make a sensible decision. Thank you for your attention.

Kuchma Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD1506213193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Address by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma before Supreme Soviet in Kiev on 15 June—live]

[Text] Esteemed Ivan Stepanovych [Plyushch], esteemed deputies. I will let myself deliver this speech in Russian because the issue is connected, first and foremost, with the demands of the Russian-speaking population.

[Kuchma begins speaking in Russian] From the first day...[commotion in the room] I need your attention. In my capacity as prime minister, I have been convinced that Ukraine, as a young state in a difficult economic situation, can only survive with a strong president, strong parliament, and strong government. Regular attempts to squeeze non-existent financial resources for social protection out of the government, the way a wife squeezes the hidden money out of her negligent husband, as we see, did not save the reputation of either the parliament, the president, or the government in the eyes of the working people. It is not by chance that in ancient times people did not like to do much talking. They considered it a disgrace to fail to catch up with their own words. Let us, finally, give an honest answer to the question: are we capable today of providing as many benefits as possible to as many people as possible? I am sure that we are not. Today, we can and must ensure the survival of only those who cannot take care of themselves.

The parliament did not give plenary powers for the establishment of a more or less centralized and strong vertical structure of executive authority either to the government or to the president. And already due to this, questions that cannot be solved in a package, in my opinion, emerged today before the parliament: how to reduce prices in the absence of money in the budget to be used for subsidies and how to maintain political stability in society in the presence of such an inflation, total lack of control over prices, and a blockade on the part of Russia as far as the supply of power resources is concerned. And I was surprised today while listening to the member of the presidium, first and foremost an economist by education, as it seems to me, Dorohuntsov. It was either fear or something else. The one who gives early gives twice.

Unfortunately, my repeated persistent warnings and requests over the past three months concerning the coming collapse of the economy and the necessity for emergency measures to save the economy remained unanswered. We completely forgot the old saying: In a country where there is no order, one should be bold in action but wary in words. Like a crow in peacock's feathers, we have been doing everything in an opposite way, and now we are surprised at the sad results. Anyone can make a mistake, but only a madman persistently repeats the same mistake.

While today our state is still saving plots of land under woods, orchards, and gardens, we must immediately draw conclusions and, finally, create strong executive power capable of normalizing the economy to a certain extent. But what kind of an economy? I have more than once asked the Supreme Council, and I ask it now: What kind of society do we build? Without an answer to this question, any president, any government, and any parliament will not be to the liking of this or that region. Or, what is even worse, one region will dislike the president, another one, the government, and yet another will dislike the parliament. And I would not like to begin polemics with Larisa Skorik today, because I have always believed and still believe that a woman must remain a woman, first and foremost.

Although I am an opponent of referendums, it must be held. And it must be held, above all, not on confidence in the president, the parliament, and the government, but to answer the question: What kind of society do we build? [applause] Without this, no further progress is possible. Without this, every spiral of inflation will grow into a political crisis, and any government that occupies that rostrum will be alien. I have no doubts that the current strike boom has a political nature. And the strike was planned not after the price rise but before it. We all know this.

Let us define our position. Either we are building a society after Marchenko [a deputy for Donetsk Oblast] or after Sasha [presumably the man in the street], or something in between. Because even the restoration of the socialist method of managing the economy today requires inflationary emissions, and the transition to the market requires the same thing. But you cannot always keep adding them both together. No economy in the country can withstand such dual inflation to please both socialists and market proponents.

Yesterday, I heard again that powers will be given to the government for a specific program. No, thank you. I do not want to drag the parliament into another insoluble debate. Being stuck with two thirds of the votes on any occasion, we have a constitution and, consequently, laws that are neither socialist nor market ones. I remember very well that when I declared here at this podium that I was resigning, 18 deputies came to me, and said, Leonid Danilovich, please, we have nothing against you, let us work, and we will vote for your emergency powers. And then this deputy corps voted against, in the majority. I mean those 18 people who had come to see me.

We have such laws that are inevitably dooming the economy to decomposition. Are there 300 people in this chamber to vote for the privatization of land and the means of production? Will there be 300 people to approve the setting up of an administrative distribution system? So what specific program are you talking about?

A month ago, the government was counting on getting powers for a relatively mild reform with the gradual elimination of the laws that interfere with people's lives. The situation has sharply deteriorated. There will be no more mild measures. And today, the government and the president will settle only for such powers that will allow them to actually interfere with any law; such powers that will allow them to dismiss or appoint without appeal any official in the country, including Nikolay Ostrovskiy. Such powers that will allow them to impose a veto on any decision by any state body, exceprt naturally by those that are superior.

What the government was asking for on 18 May was not additional powers, and I do not make mistakes when I speak, but the normal means of managing the economy. Today, we really need emergency powers, emergency ones, before it is too late. In a month's time, we will need a dictatorship. I did not deceive you on 18 May when I warned you that the situation was very complicated. I am not deceiving you now. The government is getting down to work in conditions of a state of emergency. But who will get down to work in conditions of a dictatorship?

The government can resort to tough measures, but not to cruel ones. Because even today, being forced to resort to tough measures, we envisage softening them where possible. To prove this, I would like to give a vivid examination of the essence of some of the strikers' economic demands. One of them is to review the income tax system. There was no need to call a strike for this. It would have sufficed to call the Ministry of the Economy to find out that this issue is being worked on, and in June, the income tax will be different. The miners then demanded a more accurate coefficient of the basic salary fund level under the price change. This issue did not even require calling anybody. It would have been enough for the mine directors to carefully read the published government documents, because this issue was settled back in May, as were many other issues that the coal sector raised in a timely manner with the government.

The trade unions also demanded settling the issue of temporary cover for the pension fund deficit. But even this problem had been solved by the government at its sitting before the strike. I think that the prosecutor general should caution our central trade unions, since they are calling for a general strike. [applause]

It is more difficult to settle the issue of indexing fixed capital. First, not all enterprises wish to have them indexed. Many light industry enterprises, for example,

believe, with good reason, that it will affect the price of their products and that it will be impossible to sell them. Second, these questions are resolved at the level of the sectoral ministries and the Ministry of the Economy, and they are not an issue for a strike.

It is even more difficult to settle the issue of indexing circulating capital. It cannot be settled by means of a strike. And I am not even sure that this demand is coming from common miners. Circulating capital is to be earned, and there is no other way. Another thing is that there must be a mechanism of replenishing circulating capital. But it cannot be unified and the same for everybody. Some of its elements—indexation of material- commodity reserves and exemption of five percent of profit from taxation—were adopted by the government way before the strike. Work on other elements is in progress. This work is new to all of the CIS countries, and, by the way, we are the first to be working out an inflation-free mechanism in conditions of inflation.

All this sounds like: give me some money to last for a month, and then give me some more. The demand to lift the import duty on the import of mining equipment sounds simply not serious. This is not an issue at all. Only the lazy ones have not yet lifted the duty on imported equipment and spare parts, because the government gives every support to the introduction of effective technology. But we cannot simply allow barter. Because we know what it leads to.

These are routine current problems for enterprise managers, not an excuse for an ultimatum on behalf of the strikers. Everything can be settled with the government if there is a will to settle it. But if you pile up minor issues in the course of six months, and then make a problem of them, then we have what we have now, in fact, not a strike by the miners.

Now about the banking problems and the strikers' demands regarding these. Americans say: Since the beginning of the world there have been three great inventions: fire, the wheel, and the central banking system. It is this third invention that we do not know how to use. And we do not want to. Money transfer deadlines, penalties against delayed payments, clearing payment, factoring non- acceptance payments, bills of exchange circulation, interest on enterprise funds left in the banks, indexation of the population's savings, interest rates, the replenishment of credit resources, and the exchange rate policy—all these problems are being solved with difficulty.

The government knows this. At least those who were listening attentively to my speech on 18 May could not have helped noting the government's concern about the state of affairs in the credit and monetary banking system. And today, [switches to Ukrainian] I got a letter: We request that you urgently sort out the issue of granting credits to agricultural production. Over a week, six or eight days ago, the banks told agricultural producers that credits will be given only at 225 percent. But some have and some have not been given, and those credits that were given at 30-80 percent are also being transferred, unilaterally and arbitrarily, without the producers' consent, to 225 percent. This high-handedness of the banks is leading to a complete paralysis of production and fodder procurement, of the grain harvest and milk purchases, etc.

You and I made a decision here, a week ago. So what is this? [switches back to Russian] I disclaim the government's and my personal responsibility to the village—complete sabotage! And the strikers' demands, too, and not only theirs. More than half of these very questions are addressed to the banks.

How can the government regard this? As touching, but inappropriate support on the part of the strikers, for the fact that it is time we brought some order to the banking business. Let us change the laws. I will not make any such speeches any more. Take the responsibility. Though, I wonder, who takes the responsibility for the month wasted in solving the banking problems.

Nevertheless, the government would not like its relations with the banks to be settled on the squares in the cities of the Donbass and other industrial regions of Ukraine. I want to stress again that I have great respect for Yushchenko, the National Bank chairman. But I do not understand the fact that the entire National Bank composition was not approved even at the presidium, to say nothing of at least showing it to the government. And there are people there who have no business being in the bank. [applause]

The banking issues are now being resolved under the pressure of a strike, and they could have been resolved a month ago without causing one. The subordination of the National Bank to the government during the period of the emergency situation in the economy is an axiom.

Yesterday, I heard that not only energy sources, but also the banks are to blame for the sharp rise in prices. Yes, of course, you are right. Nobody has ever managed to work by the principle of the priest to his own and the devil to his own since the biblical times. But the parliament itself yielded the position of the first authority in the country to the banks, so, either bear with it, or transfer them to the government's authority.

And now the main question: Was there a way not to raise the prices? No. No, Dorohuntsov? You do not even need a calculator, you can do with an adding machine. I think, among Dorohuntsov's 300 colleagues there are some who have not forgotten how to use an adding machine.

Every product's cost contains the price of electric power, gas and oil products. I am deeply convinced that if Russia were to raise its prices like it raised ours, a deeper crisis would be in store for Russia than for Ukraine. Look at the statistics of the CIS countries. In the first quarter, Ukraine ranked first, conventionally speaking, in keeping down the level of decline in production. First. Although, in keeping down inflation, and it is, so to

speak, known why, we are ranked a bit further down. That is, we have managed to reduce by two-fold the fall of production in the first quarter, compared to the first quarter of last year.

The cost of bread, meat, sausage, milk, a jacket, and frying pans contains the price of energy resources. You know how much it is in the village—up to 80 percent of the cost of some products accounts for the cost of oil and gas. And the fact that practically twice this month, the door was shut to us for several days, you understand that this means another round of inflation. And the prices. So you can blame the government for anything you wish.

Enough of that—then, they lived by Lenin, now, by Shevchenko. Impoverishment, impoverishment, let us at least argue sensibly and tell the truth. Is there at least one person in Ukraine, Larisa Pavlovna, who does not understand this? Does not understand the fact that Russia is raising and will keep raising prices for oil and gas until it brings them up to the world price. Russia's leadership has made a clear statement in the sense that it is much more beneficial for them to find a common language with the G-7 countries rather than with those whom they keep calling blood brothers.

[Kuchma addresses the speaker, in Ukrainian] Ivan Stepanovych, I am asking you, please call Larysa Stepanivna to order, or [word indistinct]

[Plyushch] If each one of you keeps the order then it will be very easy for me, but some are breaking it.

[Kuchma continues, in Russian] You knew my policy toward Russia from day one. I have stood and continue to stand in favor of this. But in today's situation, this policy of Russia toward Ukraine cannot be called friendly and normal. They are stripping us of our clothes and shoes by raising prices for energy sources any way they want, taking advantage of our weakness.

In these conditions, we are unable to immediately increase the production of milk, meat, bread, and other staples. I believe that, when systematically reducing the coal output, the strikers know very well themselves that we cannot lower the coal price in conditions of a fall in production. And if the strike continues for two more days, then mettalurgy and chemistry will collapse. I am simply appealing to your intelligence, I am asking, I am ready to get down on my knees, to start work immediately.

At factories and mines, we continue to play false democracy where there is only room for a sober economic approach. And it is such: it is more reasonable for our state to support the unemployed, creating new socially beneficial jobs for them, than to have extra workers at unprofitable enterprises. We have a (?number) of people that we would rather pay unemployment benefits to, assign them to build roads, and many other things. Let us appeal to each other's sense. There is up to 50 percent of hidden unemployment at enterprises. Can any state be able to support them? No. And the sooner we understand this, the better for the state, if we want to be one.

I understand and support those people who have come out in the squares because of the truly poverty-like conditions of living. However, they can hardly expect the strike, the strike itself, to reduce the prices for bread and meat. I want to be heard and understood. Everything that I say. The government is no enemy to its people. I have said on one occasion already: worst of all I fear being damned by my own people. We had to get ourselves into a budget deficit of more than six trillion karbovantsi already, so you should understand—that is the cost of the price rise. If we approved the budget at one trillion, today it is over six trillion. And we have yet to approve it, to relieve the price blow in some way. But we will have to live according to our means, however painful and difficult it is to say this today.

For us, the strike is the road to nowhere. A country that is not wealthy gets even poorer, and so do the strikers. Being poor while embarking on the strike, everybody will emerge a beggar after it. This is the truth, absolutely indisputable.

That is enough of us talking about social protection here. We should be protecting ourselves from ourselves, from general bad management and wastefulness, from political chattering and populism. One cannot learn thrift on the squares.

To snatch a piece of bread, cut oneself off, and to eat it—this is not thrift nor providing for oneself—it is stupidity. In this way, one may eat one piece of bread, but one has to take a second and third piece from somewhere. From where?

The government is constantly searching for a reply to the question of how to sort and get Ukraine's economy out of the crisis. And I will repeat: if we determine clear political reference points and sufficiently extraordinary powers, then by September, we would be obliged to present to parliament a two-year state plan for restoring, I emphasize again, and developing the country's economy.

We will not cure a sick economy with the help of political tricks, rhetoric, and rallies. It is not a half-year's work that lies ahead of us—world experience is: Turkey 10 years, Korea, and so on, I will not list them, while we want to have something, so to speak, from the government after half a year—but long, hard, and painstaking work. And probably that is enough talk about it. Thank you for your attention.

Deputies Debate 'Referendum on Confidence' in President

LD1506131193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today the Ukrainian parliament is debating the question of holding a referendum on confidence in the president. Addressing the republic's Supreme Council, Leonid Kravchuk said that a referendum on confidence in the parliament and the president should not be held. Instead he proposed the holding of elections to local organs of authority and the Supreme Council.

[Correspondent Gennadiy Kondaurov from Donetsk] The inter-oblast, inter-industry strike coordination committee is meeting in Donetsk today. The committee says that the number of strikers is increasing. It has just informed us that in the Ukraine as a whole over two million people are now taking part in the strike, in one form or another. The daily losses in Donetsk oblast, alone, come to over two billion karbovantsi.

Today the strike coordination committee reiterated yet again the strikers' demand that the Supreme Council pass an immediate decision on the holding of a referendum on confidence in President Kravchuk and in councils at all levels. The second political demand on which the strikers are insisting is the granting of regional economic autonomy to the Donetsk-Lugansk region. Only after these decisions have been adopted by the Supreme Council will the strike coordination committee hold talks on economic demands.

A rally of strikers is continuing on the central square of Donetsk today. The socio-political situation in the Ukraine continues to be very acute. The Supreme Council's procrastination in adopting political decisions can only exacerbate it. [Video shows archive film of rally, with close-up of banners saying "Abakumov mine demands normal living conditions for the people of the Ukraine!"; "Supreme Council, don't drown in people's tears"; "Down with Kravchuk"; "Kravchuk, don't bring back 1933!"; "Kravchuk's policy is a policy of genocide"]

Deputy Parliament Chairman Offers To Resign

LD1606103693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1002 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 16 TASS—Vladimir Grinev, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, offered to resign on Wednesday and decided to cancel his parliamentary mandate, but remain a people's deputy of Ukraine.

He said he can no longer work in the Supreme Soviet for "moral reasons". He called on the parliament to hold pre-term elections of both the president, the legislature and local self-governing bodies.

Deputy Kozarenko Tells Kravchuk To Resign

LD1606115893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0715 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Exchange of remarks between Deputy Kozarenko and President Leonid Kravchuk during a session of parliament in Kiev—live]

[Text] [Kozarenko] You, the first president of Ukraine, could become the cause for the loss of Ukrainian statehood. In defending your moral position yesterday, what you said was out of order, by saying that you yourself are like that. Not having placed the resolution of the Donetsk Oblast Executive Committee on the table, today you are reading out its resolution. As always, even here you are being sly.

[Kravchuk] Which resolution did I read out?

[Kozarenko] That was not their resolution. The session adopted a resolution that, in particular, expressed no confidence in Ukraine's president. All the rest came later. Therefore, I propose that the most honorable way out for you is to turn to the people today and to resign. Having turned off the television, we should resolve our own issue: Can we work or not? Thousands of proposals have already been heard here hundreds of times, but they have all been bogged down in the sand.

What do we have today? At the moment, the chairman of the Supreme Council is in Turkey as a guest. Vasyl Vasylovych [Durdynets] is acting chairman. [Volodymyr] Hrynyov is putting together a new party and preparing for the elections. I doubt whether these people are capable of leading the Supreme Council. I would like to request, however, that the third issue should not be examined without examining the first two. Having decided the first issue, after we have made changes to the Constitution and given real emergency powers to the executive power—that is, to Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, and it should be so—we should turn to the people of Ukraine on behalf of the Supreme Council and the Cabinet of Ministers. Thank you.

[Kravchuk] Excuse me, I will not be able to make any more speeches because I came to the Supreme Council, and my attitude to my speeches is a responsible one. Mr. Kozarenko, I did not read and did not even mention the Donetsk Oblast Council. I said the coordinating committee that is working in Donetsk. You did not hear anything. You prepared your speech before that and did not hear me. You went to the rostrum and, in my presence, you said something that I did not say. Please tell me how am I supposed to sit here in the Supreme Council and listen to such lies.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Supports Karabakh Leaders Joining Talks

LD1506183693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1640 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS corespondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 15 June—Armenian President Levon Ter- Petrosyan has highly evaluated yesterday's decision by the authorities of Nagorno-Karabakh to become a party to the CSCE initiative on a Karabakh settlement. Today he received the heads of the foreign diplomatic representations that are accredited in Yerevan, having informed them about his meetings with the leaders of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, which took place in the last few days in Goris and Stepanakert. In the opinion of Levon Ter-Petrosyan, at the present time a unique possibility has taken shape for a peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict. It is the first time that an agreement among the three sides has been reached simultaneously. The Armenian leader thinks that the international community is rendering maximum assistance in implementing these possibilities.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan has supported the proposal from Stepanakert that the implementation of the measures envisaged in the CSCE schedule should be postponed for a month. In this connection, he expressed the hope that the request of the Karabakh side would receive the understanding of the CSCE and the international community.

Calls New Karabakh Leader 'Courageous'

LD1606083993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0756 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 16 TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter- Petrosyan congratulated Karen Baburyan with the election to the post of acting parliament chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh and said the first decision of Baburyan to support the CSCE peace plan testified to the "reasonableness and courage" of the new leader of the enclave.

Ter-Petrosyan said he is confident that the new leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh will do everything possible to end the bloodshed and invited Baburyan to visit Yerevan on an official visit.

Cooperation Agreements Signed With Georgia

LD1506223293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Centuries-long fraternity and friendship connects us with the Georgian people. Georgia has become the second motherland for many Armenians, Armenian Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan said when he met Mr. Tengiz Sigua. He continued: The Armenian people remember the good things. When an earthquake hit Armenia, Georgian medical doctors were the first to arrive in our republic and render help to the victims. Armenia and Georgia have always rendered help to each other. Today, our visit is aimed ar extending and strengthening our relations.

During the meeting Tengiz Sigua said: We will still cooperate in spheres such as culture, medicine, and so on. Today, our republics are independent and we have an even wider range for activity.

The conversation then touched upon the issues of oil and gas transit and of customs. Various important documents were signed during the meeting and an agreement was concluded on cooperation in the spheres of culture, science, and the humanities. A state credit for 1992-93 was also signed on non-commercial payments and establishment of customs relations.

Azerbaijan

Government Troops, Guseynov's Forces Collide

NC1506163793 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1450 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 15.06.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—As it became known to ASSA-IRADA correspondent from informed sources, the battle began at mid-day in Adzhikabul and Navai, a distance of 100 km southwest of Baku. The rebels used a few armored cars, 3-Grad missiles. The governmental troops used a few tanks, a helicopter and armored cars. Mr. Dadash Rzayev is at the battle place. The battle continues. The governmental troops managed to encircle and disarm the rebel detachment which was trying to get to Baku. This happened in the coastal settlement of Alyat, which is 70 km from Baku.

Gaydar Aliyev is the new chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan. At Mr. Elchibey's initiative there was only one question on the agenda for today's meeting of Milli Mejlis—election of the new chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan. According to ASSA-IRADA parliamentary correspondent, thirty-four members of parliament voted for and three voted against the only proposed candidate, Gaydar Aliyev. Tamerlan Karayev, the first deputy of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, in his address to the Azeri people, residents of Gyandzha and Suret Guseynov called for unity in the name of finding a way out of the difficult situation in the Azerbaijani Republic. Mr Gaydar Aliyev expressed his hopes that everybody will respond to his address. "I'll do my best to protect the independence of Azerbaijan," he said in his address.

Rebels Seize Town of Akhsu

LD1606133093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1215 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku June 16 TASS—Militants of Azeri rebel commander Suret Guseynov were reported to have

seized the regional centre of Akhsu while trying to bypass government forces which blocked them ninety kilometres away from the capital of Azerbaijan. According to official reports, Akhsu was seized early on Wednesday when supporters of Guseynov advanced towards Baku by a mountain road.

Tragic developments were reported in the city of Geochkai, the administrative centre of an Azeri region, close to Akhsu. Guseynov rebels were said to have killed there deputy head of the executive authority Ilkham Zeinalov late on Tuesday. The building of the local administration was fired at from a tank.

Also on Tuesday the militants were blocked by Azeri Government forces near the village of Navoi, ninety kilometres away from Baku. Well-informed sources said fighting with the use of various types of weapons was going on there until midnight and casualties were reported on both sides. The exact number of the victims was unknown.

The press service of the president of Azerbaijan said the clash in Navoi occurred after Guseynov supporters demanded the government forces to open the road to Baku. It added that after the clash lull has been dominating the area until now.

The press service said that authorities have not yet resorted to "resolute measures against rebel troops". This is because the head of the state counts on reasonableness of the militants and believes it necessary to use all peaceful ways out of the crisis.

Former ex-communist boss of Azerbaijan Geydar Aliyev, who was elected national parliament's chairman on Tuesday, also supports a peaceful way out of the crisis. He stressed that he is "an opponent of the use of force and that the conflict is to be settled by means of negotiations".

However, spokesman of the president Arif Aliyev warned that a further aggravation of the situation is possible in case no agreements are reached and the government forces do not resort to resolute measures.

Observers in Baku say that the actions of Guseynov and his supporters created "a dangerous precedent which can begin a period of permanent military coups in Azerbaijan which can result in the loss of the statehood in the final run". They say that the republican leadership has to find a way out of the crisis with minimal losses and solve a dual task: to stop Guseynov's militants without any bloodshed and place the military contrapposition into the field of political dispute.

In the meantime, other "rebels" began to appear in Azerbaijan. Two days ago the regional centre of Lenkoran in the south of Azerbaijan was seized by a group of people under the command of Alikram Gummetov, former supporter of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, who is said to share social-democratic views.

Fighting Said 'Stopped'

NC1606102193 Baku TURAN in English 0938 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 16 (TURAN)—As press-centre of PFA [Azerbaijani People's Front] informed, the battles between Suret Guseynovs insurgent troops and government forces are stopped. According to the latest information, during yesterdays exchange of fire two people were killed and eight were wounded. With accordance to the official sources, government forces took from 20 to 30 rebel soldiers prisoners. Among the prisoners were a great number of mercenaries from CIS countries. At present both sides are on their former positions near Adzhikabul region centre 120 km to the south- east of Baku.

U.S. Embassy Families, Oil Company Staff Evacuated

LD1506161793 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Tensions in Azerbaijan keep running high. The forces supporting Guseynov, who demands resignation of the republic's present leaders, have advanced closer to Baku and are now within 100 km of the capital. They are meeting with no serious resistance.

Confidential sources report that families of the United States Embassy personnel and the personnel of United States oil companies in Azerbaijan have been evacuated from Baku.

Elchibey Urges Rebel Troops To Lay Down Arms

NC1506194793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1724 GMT 15 Jun 93

["Appeal" issued by President Abulfaz Elchibey to "the soldiers and officers of the 709th Army Brigade"; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Soldiers and officers, today a serious threat has arisen for the Azerbaijani state and its people. The soldiers of the Azerbaijani Army are confronting each other with arms in their hands. Any provocation or merely a careless act could trigger fratricide. The soldiers and [words indistinct] will confront each other. This may be the start of a civil war in Azerbaijan, and that would mean the undermining of the state's foundation [words indistinct]. It is tragic that those who want to unleash a civil war in Azerbaijan are [words indistinct]. At a time when we are continuing on the road of independence and defending our own lands from the enemy, efforts are being made to dismember us from within with our own hands. As president of the Republic, I am doing everything to prevent this. But those who are (?part of this game) evade all measures aimed at solving the problem through dialogue.

I signed a decree declaring amnesty for all those involved in the Gyandzha incidents. According to information at my disposal, you are not aware of this decree or the state's other measures aimed at achieving peace [words indistinct].

Taking this into consideration, I want to make a direct appeal to you.

For the last 10 days I have been seeking ways to prevent fratricide. The Republic's people are anxious and in anticipation. They, too, are against fratricide. At the same time, however, they are asking me to take resolute measures. They are justified in their demands, because the situation cannot continue like this. A good (?opportunity) has been presented to our enemies, who lie in wait because of your action. By adding your [word indistinct] obstinacy to the unending attacks against Agdere [Mardakert] and Agdam, and to the problem of the refugees, the economic problems, and problems concerning the establishment of a regular army, you are stabbing our people in the back. These people want to stand up on their feet [word indistinct].

Yes, my sons, you—the soldiers and officers of the Azerbaijani Army—had enough time to think about the situation [words indistinct]. Now it is time to arrive at a resolute and correct decision.

As the president of the country, I ask you, the citizens: Do not shed the blood of your (?kin) [words indistinct].

As the supreme commander of the Azerbaijani Armed Forces, I order you to lay down your arms and reconcile with your brother soldiers who face you.

Disobeying army orders is a military crime.

[Signed] President of the Azerbaijan Republic Abulfaz Elchibey

People's Front Rejects Call For Elchibey's Resignation

NC1506151993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] In a statement on the incidents in Gyandzha, the Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] has said the following:

President Abulfaz Elchibey, the Azerbaijan Government, and the National Assembly have decided that a political solution must be found to the problem, and bloodshed must be avoided. Furthermore, they have fully used every opportunity in that regard. Consultations have been held with all the political forces in the Republic, their conditions were studied, and the influential people in the country were urged to contribute toward the effort made to end the dispute. Prime Minister Penakh Guseynov and Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, resigned in order to prevent bloodshed. All this proved to the people that the government maintains a serious and sincere wish to find a peaceful solution to the problem. However, the opposite side has regarded these concessions as a weakness.

APF believes that the steps taken to find a peaceful solution to the dispute thus far have been agreeable. However, neither the Republic's people nor the democratic world can consider the demand for the resignation of the president. APF has placed all its forces at the disposal of the president and demands that most resolute measures be urgently taken to safeguard the state administration. Furthermore, it calls on all the people to support these measures.

Elchibey Rejects Removal From Power

LD1506182093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman and AZERTAC correspondent Natig Abdullayev]

[Text] Baku, 15 Jun—"I am the legally elected president and only the people can remove me from power by means of a referendum," President of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey declared, speaking this evening at a rally of his supporters. The rally is continuing even now outside the building of the apparatus of the head of state despite the fact that in Baku, as throughout the republic, an emergency is in force for the third month running. The president came here on the completion of the emergency session of the Azerbaijan National Assembly.

It was the demonstrators who insisted that Abulfaz Elchibey speak; in their view, the president must make an appraisal of the Gyandzha events and moreover "take resolute measures against Suret Guseynov and his supporters." The president said that "the leadership of the republic will not tolerate separatism or forcible overthrow of power." At the same time he considers that it is necessary to do everything possible to prevent fratricidal conflict. The way of peace, the way of talks, Abulfaz Elchibey said, is the surest way.

Press Office Urges People To Unite Around Elchibey

NC1506211793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1724 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Statement issued by the Presidential Press Service on 15 June]

[Text] To avoid fratricide in the aftermath of the Gyandzha incidents and to resolve the tension peacefully, an agreement was concluded [with Suret Guseynov's forces], with the participation of the investigative commission set up by the National Assembly, not to disseminate dangerous information. But this agreement has been violated from the very first day: the radio transmitter in Khanlarskiy Rayon was taken over, and they continued their [words indistinct] on the state

television. They called on the Republic's population to take up arms, to topple the legal state structures, and [words indistinct].

Despite all this, the state's information organs adhered to the agreement until the last moment, and the republican leadership and the state organs took every step to prevent an uprising and fratricide.

Soon after the tragedy began, the president ordered government forces to halt their movements around Gyandzha.

The prime minister chose to resign in order to eliminate the tension and to [words indistinct]. The National Assembly set up a parliamentary commission to investigate the Gyandzha incidents. Through a decision by the National Assembly and a decree signed by the president, amnesty was declared for all those involved in the incidents. National Assembly Chairman Isa Kamberov later resigned from his post.

Despite all this, the rebels, taking advantage of the fact that the government troops were ordered not to fire, used force to topple the legal government organs in a number of rayons and took the leading cadres hostage, replacing them with their own men. Even the efforts of influential figures in the Republic did not deter the rebels from their criminal intentions.

The (?real objective) of the rebels, who attempted to take over power in those rayons that called for punishing the culprits responsible for the Gyandzha incidents—but which had nothing to do with the incidents and were located hundreds of kilometers from Gyandzha—became obvious.

The start of a crisis in the Republic [words indistinct], the attempt by a group of armed forces to impose itself on [word indistinct], and the start of a period of (?coups) in the Republic are tantamount to the breakup of Azerbaijan, loss of independence, and international isolation.

We again call on the rebels to back away from the danger threatening our democracy [words indistinct] and not to lose the last chance to settle the conflict through dialogue.

We call on the people of the Republic to (?firmly) unite around the president, who was elected in a democratic and legal manner.

The Azerbaijani Government will use all available means to restore the region's political stability, protect our state, and ensure the citizens' security.

Aliyev Elected Supreme Soviet Chairman

NC1506150093 Baku Radio Baku in Azeri 1330 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani National Assembly continued its session today. The Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey attended the session [words indistinct]. The situation created in the Republic as a result of the incidents in Gyandzha were debated.

The session also discussed the question of the appointment of the chairman of the Republic's Supreme Soviet. Various proposals were made on the matter. The only candidate for the post was Geydar Aliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet and chairman of Nakhichevan Supreme Assembly.

The National Assembly elected Geydar Alirza ogly Aliyev as the chairman of the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet in a secret ballot.

Addressing the National Assembly, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Geydar Aliyev expressed thanks for the trust shown in him. He promised to direct all his (?energies) for [words indistinct]. Geydar Aliyev called for the (?protection) of the [word indistinct] of all the citizens living in Azerbaijan. [passage indistinct]

More on Election

NC1506191593 Baku AZERTAC in English 1452 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 15 (AZERTAC)—Today Geydar Aliyev was elected the chairman of the Supreme Council [Soviet] of Azerbaijan by majority of the National Assembly members. Mr. Aliyev is the successor of recently resigned Mr. Isa Kamberov. Almost an hour and a half was spend by the members of the National Assembly to elect Mr. Aliyev. The situation worsened when the Nakhichevan leader who took a place in the Presidium in accordance with the Constitution of Azerbaijan, declined a suggestion to make a report about his business trip to Gyandzha. As it was informed by the AZERTAC earlier Mr. Aliyev had talks with Mr. S. Guseynov, the former commander of the National Army corps, in Gyandzha. During his speech Mr. Geydar Aliyev stressed that he had arrived to Baku just to take part in the election of a head of the parliament. Mr. Aliyev said that the events that had taken place in Gyandzha could be discussed just when the special committee of inquiry consisting of deputies of the National Assembly would finish their work. He underlined that the situation formed in the Republic could be solved just by the authorities.

The President Abulfaz Elchibey, who made a speech at the meeting of the National Assembly today, shared the opinion of the leader of Nakhichevan. The president said that it was necessary to elect the chairman of the Supreme Council when the situation is complicated and the power in the Republic is paralysed. He also informed the deputies that a bitter skirmish between the government Army and supporters of Suret Guseynov had been going on for two days. Both sides had a considerable number of wounded.

The deputies declined the First Deputy Chairman [of National Assembly] Tamerlan Karayev's suggestion to hear the account of the law bodies about the situation formed in the Republic.

Meanwhile a meeting of the People's Front supporters is going on outside the office block of the president. They demanded that the president give the account the situation in Gyandzha on the national television and take drastic measures against Suret Guseynov and his supporters according to the Defence Ministry and the [words indistinct] service the skirmish between the units of the rebel Colonel Guseynov and the government Army is going on near (?Navoee) settlement that is 100 kilometers far from Baku.

The National Assembly is waiting for the statement of Geydar Aliyev.

Aliyev Speaks at National Assembly

NC1506185393 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1530 GMT 15 Jun 93

["Text" of speech by Geydar Aliyev in the National Assembly after his election as Supreme Soviet chairman on 15 June—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed deputies and president, I thank the members of the Azerbaijan National Assembly and the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet for their confidence in me today. I wish to assure you that I will use all opportunities to fulfill this great and difficult task. I will try to fulfill my duties with efficiency.

I wish to inform you that I regard the grave, complex, and tense situation in Azerbaijan with great responsibility. I realize the requirements of my responsibility in fulfilling my task. Considering all that, I will do everything I can.

I do not wish to make a lengthy speech. However, I wish to explain (?a few points). I believe that as the head of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, one of my primary duties is to safeguard, strengthen, and improve Azerbaijan's independence, which is an achievement in the international domain. Azerbaijan's independence must be maintained on the basis of the traditions of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, which was established in 1918, and in accordance with contemporary requirements and international procedures. I will make a strenuous effort in that regard. No matter where I may be, I will devote the rest of my life to the continued existence of Azerbaijan as an independent republic.

In this connection, I want to inform you that I am convinced that henceforth Azerbaijan will not lose its independence, no matter what may befall it. It will not come under the structure of a single state, and will not fall under the authority of any other state. Several rumors and views have surfaced to the effect that the Soviet Union will be reinstated and that it is possible that Azerbaijan will become a part of it. I reject those views and urge the Republic's citizens to reject them too.

The Republic has many important tasks to perform. In order to ensure the independence and sovereignty of the country, the Azerbaijani Republic's lands occupied by Armenia must be (?recovered), the territorial integrity of the Azerbaijani Republic must be secured, the war must end, and peace must be established. Azerbaijan's citizens must live in peace and security and establish their state the way they wish to. That is one of the main issues on which the supreme assembly must concentrate its attention. I wish to reassure you in that regard.

The document that has been signed as a result of the initiative made by the United States, Russia, and Turkey is the first step that will help us gradually stop the war. However, effective measures must be taken in the future to enable Azerbaijan to control all its territory and help our people stop the war. I want to stress that Azerbaijan's independence is the most important issue. Meanwhile, as an independent republic, Azerbaijan must strengthen its democracy. Pluralism must be established in the political domain. The Constitution and the laws must not be violated. The structure of the state and community must be based on democratic principles. Politics and economy must be based on freedom. Our republic decided to adopt the principles of freedom, [words indistinct], and the free economy and free market systems a year ago. That is the right direction. Our republic must continue to advance in that direction. You must rest assured that I will always be committed to that direction.

One of the main reasons for the tense situation in our republic is the incidents in Gyandzha on 4 June. The incidents were horrible. Crimes were committed and there was bloodshed. An investigation must be carried out and all those who have broke the law and participated in criminal activities must be held responsible in the eyes of the law, regardless of the side they support. The deputies' committee is mainly concerned with that matter. However, we must urgently remove the existing tension. I had long talks with President Elchibey on the subject yesterday. I also held talks in Gyandzha. The officials who accompanied me to that city attended the talks. I trust that the effort we have made will remove the tension and the confrontation. However, as I said earlier, I cannot support any side. The tension and the confrontation can only be removed through a peaceful approach, reconciliation, mutual agreement, and talks. I also trust that that will be achieved through the common sense of our people and the joint effort of Azerbaijan's intellectuals, elder officials, and people. In general, we must use our material and spiritual values to establish a democratic and independent republic in Azerbaijan and create a [word indistinct] community.

We must make an effort to create an opportunity for Azerbaijan to demonstrate its historic and national traditions to the world. I am convinced that Azerbaijan's people have a great history and contemporary potential.

Azerbaijan will become an independent and democratic republic and our community will be a democratic entity based on material and spiritual values if they are productively used. The Islamic faith, which is the source of our culture, historical traditions, and religion, has created a very significant basis for that. Our duty is to use all that in a fruitful way.

The tension in Azerbaijan is not only linked to the question of Karabakh; that is, the question of Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan. Incidents have broken out in Gyandzha. Regrettably, the relations among the nationalities and ethnic groups who have lived in Azerbaijan for many years have been disrupted to a certain degree. Azerbaijan has been the homeland of all the peoples in this country for dozens of years—in fact, for centuries. It must continue to be their homeland in the future. Undoubtedly, each and every citizen in the Republic must be equal, regardless of his nationality, religion, and political orientation. We can secure full unity among all the peoples and nationalities in the Republic if we act in accordance with these concepts and apply them. Surely, we must do that. I trust that we shall achieve that objective.

Regarding the question of foreign politics, I must stress that significant work must be carried out in that domain. I am convinced that Azerbaijan, as a democratic republic, must establish relations with all the countries in the world based on equality, regardless of the direction followed by those countries in their domestic policies. First of all, we must establish cultural and economic relations at a state level with our close neighbors. Undoubtedly, the relations established with Turkey have been approved by the Republic's people. Meanwhile, our relations with neighboring Iran must be improved and developed. Russia is an influential country. It is situated to the north of our Republic. Undoubtedly, relations between Russia and Azerbaijan, which are based on the principle of independence, must be further improved.

We must establish relations with all the republics that made up the former Soviet Union; that is, with Ukraine, Belarus, the republics in Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Baltic Republics, and Moldova. All of them are independent countries at the present time. That is essential for us because we have had very close economic, cultural, and humanitarian relations with them for many years—in fact, for centuries. We cannot break off relations. On the contrary, improved relations with them will help Azerbaijan develop and become an independent republic.

Azerbaijan has become a country of the world. We have welcomed the positive approach recently adopted by the United States toward Azerbaijan. I believe that the relations between the two countries should be further broadened and improved in the future. Undoubtedly, we must greatly increase the scope of our relations with the European countries, particularly with Britain, France, Germany, and other countries. We must also improve our relations with the Islamic countries, Arab states, and Turkic-speaking countries. In short, I wish to stress that this is my position. As the head of the Supreme Soviet, I shall make an effort to help the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the government carry out auspicious work. However, the main task at the present time is to resolve the incidents in Gyandzha and remove the tension they have created.

I wish to appeal to all the Republic's citizens, to our brothers, and to [words indistinct] from the floor of the National Assembly to remind them that our Republic is [word indistinct]. Our most important task is to retake our occupied territories and safeguard Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and sovereignty. All agitation and internal disputes must be put aside for that purpose. I appeal to all the Republic's people and the citizens of Gyandzha. I appeal to Suret Guseynov, deputy of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, and to his armed comrades who support him. I urge them to act with common sense and in accordance with human relations. Our Republic greatly needs that at the present time. They and all the people must realize that we must be united.

We are faced with a significant threat at this tragic time in Azerbaijan. Therefore, all the forces must unite. All the political parties, establishments, organizations, and the people must unite. They must put aside all their (?disputes). We must unite to remove the grave situation in Azerbaijan. I am convinced that the people in Gyandzha and those in the rayons around that city will hear my voice and respond to it. I am convinced that Suret Guseynov will hear my voice and act with common sense. I am also convinced that we shall stop the unfortunate situation. I call on all of you to unite and work in that direction. I ask you to put aside (?petty) feelings. Gossip and rumors must be put aside. Their time will come too. It is not the time to concern ourselves with who says what against whom.

I wish to stress that certain circles have claimed that Geydar Aliyev will [words indistinct] if he is appointed to a post in Azerbaijan. He will mistreat those who have been against him or who have mistreated him. As a responsible person, I wish to inform the Republic's people that (?seeking revenge) is not in my nature. Certain people wish to create that impression. Obviously, that is aimed at fragmenting us. I promise that I will never be carried away by negative feelings. Believe me that I have forgiven everyone who maintained an unfriendly approach toward me in the past. I shall never allow myself to be carried away by such a feeling. [passage indistinct]

Undoubtedly, we must all act with discipline in our work. We must all abide by the law. We must maintain the supremacy of the law. Undoubtedly, I will not relinquish my principles in that regard. I am convinced that we and the Supreme Soviet and President Abulfaz Elchibey will fix this situation. I call on you to unite for that purpose. Thank you.

National Assembly Resolution on Kamberov's Removal

NC1506203893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1724 GMT 15 Jun 93

[National Assembly resolution relieving Isa Kamberov of his duties as chairman of the Supreme Soviet issued in Baku on 13 June]

[Text] The Azerbaijani Republic National Assembly hereby decides to relieve Isa Yunus ogly Kamberov of his duties as chairman of the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet, taking into consideration his letter of resignation.

[Signed] Tamerlan Karayev, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet

Calls For Elchibey To Quit 'Irritate' People

PM1606095393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Sokhbet Mamedov report: "Crisis in Azerbaijan Deepening"]

[Text] Baku—An unpredictable situation is persisting in Baku, as well as throughout the republic. The president's intensive consultations with leaders of political parties have not yet produced real results, and the path leading to national accord and to stabilization of the situation in the republic has not been found.

The hopes which many people were pinning on the trip to Gyandzha by G. Aliyev, head of parliament of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, have not been realized either. Nothing has yet been reported on the results of his meeting with Colonel S. Guseynov. A correspondent for one of Baku's newspapers was told by the rebel colonel's press service that Guseynov is insisting on the fulfillment of his demands, the main point of which, as is known, is the resignation of Azerbaijan's present leadership headed by the president. In recent days contradictions have been observed in Guseynov's statements and actions, which give grounds for asserting that he is, nonetheless, not a politician.

Whereas after the Gyandzha events the public in the republic was understanding of the colonel's calls for those to blame for the bloodshed to be punished—and he held the government responsible for the bloodshed—today the ultimatum-like threats issuing from Gyandzha and, particularly, the demand for the resignation of the nationally elected president have begun to irritate many people. The unimpeded advance on Baku by a detachment of 100-130 military men is perceived as a disgraceful fact. Observers believe that Guseynov is using these actions to provoke the official authorities into a clash.

The confrontation in the republic has reached a dangerous level. In this connection the People's Front of Azerbaijan held a rally in front of the presidential apparatus building last Monday. The People's Front leaders who addressed it urged the population to rally around A. Elchibey and demanded that the authorities take decisive measures both against those to blame for the Gyandzha events and against those forces which are trying to carry out a military coup in the republic.

In the present situation the president of Azerbaijan probably has to make the most difficult choice. For the sake of achieving peace and stabilizing the situation in the republic he must either continue the search for paths leading to a bloodless solution to the problem or assume responsibility and issue the order to crush the revolt by Guseynov's forces. It is hard to say which of these Elchibey will prefer. Maybe the final decision will be made 15 June, at a session of the National Assembly, which is expected to be attended both by the president and by Aliyev, chairman of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Assembly.

Turkey's Inonu Phones Mamedov on Peacemaking Efforts

NC1606104493 Baku TURAN in English 0938 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 16 (TURAN)—At the evening on June 15 Erdal Inonu, who acts as the Turkish prime-minister phoned the leader of the Azerbaijan opposition the chairman of the National Independence Party [NIP] Etibar Mamedov, the NIP press-service informed TURAN agency.

During the talk Erdal Inonu highly estimated Etibar Mamedovs peacemaking efforts aimed at the restoration of civic concord and stability in Azerbaijan. Erdal Inonu informed Etibar Mamedov, that the head of the official Turkish delegation, who is to arrive in Baku today, will pass Etibar Mamedov personal message of president Suleyman Demirel of Turkey.

Lenkoran Under Control of Former Deputy Defense Minister

LD1606104093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] The town of Lenkoran, situated in the southeast of Azerbaijan near the country's border with Iran, was occupied today by Alikram Gummetov's armed formations without a single shot being fired. Gummetov is the former deputy defense minister and the chairman of Lenkoran's branch of the Azerbaijani People's Front. RIA reports that on Gummetov declared partisan war on 12 June and demanded the resignation of the present government of the Azerbaijani People's Front. He is controlling all strategically important sites of the town. The Lenkoran police are maintaining neutrality.

Baku Appeals to UN, CSCE for Sanctions Against Armenia

NC1506213893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 15 Jun 93

["Text" of Foreign Ministry appeal for sanctions against Armenia issued on 15 June]

[Text] The Armenian Army launched an attack on Azerbaijan's Agdamskiy and Agdzhabedinskiy Rayon on 12 June. A long and intensive wave of artillery shelling and pressure by MiG-23 aircraft, SU-25 aircraft, and MI-24 helicopters preceded the attack. Tanks, armored vehicles, heavy artillery, and a large number of troops were deployed in the onslaught. Many peaceful people were killed or wounded. Several towns in Agdamskiy and Agdzhabedinskiy Rayons were occupied.

The Armenian Armed Forces attacked the cities of Agdam and Shilli, Marzili, Yusufdzhanly, [name indistinct], Yenidaralar, and Alidzhanly on 14 June. Clashes also took place in the vicinity of Alimenetly and Shilli in Agdamskiy Rayon at about noon. The Armenian Armed Forces also attacked (Hagopshamarin) and Mazarid in Agderenskiy Rayon on the same day. Meanwhile, the city of Agdere was subjected to a wave of systematic artillery fire.

Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry is convinced that Armenia's latest attack is not a coincidence [words indistinct]. Azerbaijan appealed to the United Nations earlier to inform it of the situation. Regrettably, the Republic's initiatives did not yield results. The reason for the present situation is Armenia's reluctance to find a peaceful solution to the dispute. It is not prepared to do so. Consequently, it has resorted to the use of armed force. Furthermore, considering the approach maintained by the leading countries and the United Nations to its ambitions, Armenia is convinced that it will not be penalized. That is why it wishes to keep on usurping territories, a factor which has become Armenia's state policy.

The Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry draws attention to the fact that the latest Armenian attack took place when the CSCE observers had prepared to go to the disputed rayons for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 822. Furthermore, the attack coincides with the two peace initiatives made by the United States, Russia, and Turkey and the CSCE Minsk Group's decision on the calendar for urgent measures. Azerbaijan has responded positively to the peace initiatives and the decision.

The Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry believes that a more hypocritical approach than that of Armenia to the international community's peace effort cannot be imagined. Azerbaijan has long been expecting the influential organizations to adopt effective measures to (?condemn) the aggressor. The general statements and calls for the cessation of combat operations have not been effective. The double-standard approach toward the aggressor and its victims harms the policy required to pacify the aggressor. That disrupts the peace process and [words indistinct].

Azerbaijan appeals to the UN Security Council, the CSCE, and the international community once again to urge them to adopt sanctions against Armenia as an aggressor country, sanctions which are called for by the UN Charter. It also appeals to them to force Armenia to abandon its effort to systematically undermine the peace initiatives and to establish the mechanism required to implement the resolutions that have been adopted until now.

New Karabakh Parliament Leader Starts Work

LD1506195093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1630 GMT 15 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Jun—At a meeting of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic late on Monday evening, 39-year-old lawyer Karen Baburyan was elected the new leader of the republic's parliament, replacing Georgiy Petrosyan who had resigned from the post. The resignation, as will be recalled, came about because of Petrosyan's disagreement with the provisions of the CSCE initiative for a settlement in Karabakh, an initiative which had given rise to sharp political dispute in Stepanakert.

Karen Baburyan was born in 1954 and graduated from the Azerbaijan State University in 1980. He was a manual worker and served in the Soviet army. For several years he worked in the executive committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh oblast soviet. After being elected in 1992 as a deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet, he headed the parliamentary standing commission on structuring of the state, legality and law, and subsequently was acting first deputy chairman of the parliament.

The first matter the new leader of Nagorno-Karabakh had to deal with was signing the CSCE initiative for a cease-fire and a settlement of the conflict in the region. Observers in Armenia believe this step shows that constructive forces, bent firmly on resolving the Karabakh problem in a peaceful way, have come to power in Karabakh.

Nagorno-Karabakh Fails To Respond To CSCE Initiative

PM1506104393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan: "Nagorno-Karabakh Fails To Respond to CSCE Peace Initiative"]

[Text] Yerevan—The Nagorno-Karabakh parliament, which has been in permanent session for the past three days, has still not given a response to the CSCE peace initiative on Nagorno-Karabkh. The decisions of

Armenia and Azerbaijan to support the latest peace mission have thus been left hanging in the air, so to speak.

The Armenian president's surprise trip to the city of Goris, where he met with the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic leadership last Saturday, also failed to get events moving. It is obviously premature to call the meeting fruitful.

The Nagorno-Karabakh leaders assert that there are two circumstances which oblige them to refrain from the unconditional acceptance of the CSCE initiative. They are the absence of reliable guarantees of the safety of the population since the withdrawal of the self defense forces from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon and the unstable situation in Azerbaijan, which does not rule out the possibility of independent actions by combat commanders against the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

Meanwhile the document proposed for signing has revealed differences not only between Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic but also within the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership. G. Petrosyan, acting head of the Nagorno-Karabakh parliament, admits that the dissenting opinion of the republic's military command on this question could bring matters to a domestic political crisis.

Nakhichevan Refutes Reports on Closure of Border With Iran

LD1506172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1633 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku June 15 TASS—Foreign mass media reports on closing the Nakhichevan border with Iran were refuted today at the Nakhichevan representation in Baku.

They stressed "there was no need for this, same as for the introduction of the state of emergency which has been in effect for three months on the rest of Azeri territory".

Georgia

Shevardnadze Discusses Political Issues

LD1406230193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Studio interview with Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified correspondent in Tbilisi—live or recorded; broadcast ends abruptly]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Good morning, today is Monday 14 June and as usual Georgian radio presents an interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state and head of the republic's parliament.

Eduard said last week saw very great difficulties in our city's [Tbilisi's] bread supplies, and it was only by experiencing extreme tension, suffering with nerves, and enduring insults that our fellow citizens were able to get bread. There may be a shortage of bread in the country, but this hardship is often artificially created due to general disorder. Probably somebody is profiting from this. Lately, the rumors have been spread very actively in town about flour being stored before the price of bread shoots up.

[Shevardnadze] Good morning. As it happens, our programs never start with pleasant subjects and this is probably due to the circumstances the country is facing. This crisis is one such circumstance, and it concerns the baking and selling of bread in the capital and elsewhere. If we can speak about specific amounts, more bread is being baked than is needed—in the capital at least, much more. In my opinion, bread prices and salaries should have been increased simultaneously. As soon as the government's decision to raise salaries was announced, the changes in bread prices should have taken place immediately.

This is elementary, an elementary rule—elementary order, if you like. It is like this in every country. It is because this factor was ignored that the results are lamentable. It is natural that every family should want to store as much as possible, to dry and preserve foodstuffs, and to buy relatively cheaply in good time.

Something else is also happening. I am not ruling out sabotage. In particular, there are good supplies of flour and it is being sold at exorbitant prices, not only in Georgia but in other neighboring states too, and it is this flour which is needed for baking bread and supplying the shops. Measures seem to have been taken, but it is too late, and neither the government nor the head of state need to justify themselves.

We must equally share the responsibility for it. We made a mistake, and as I have told you, the aftermath of this mistake is grave; it resulted in torment and anxiety, as you have correctly pointed out, and is the reason why the people are as discontented, tense, and uptight as they are.

What conclusions should we draw from this? I think the situation must change in the very near future. First of all, new prices will take effect; second, there will be an improvement in importing grain. It has already been announced that 26,000 tonnes of U.S. grain is to be shipped either to Batumi or Poti, then a second consignment will follow. At the moment we are making do with what we have received from Russia, about 30,000 tonnes. There may be a bit more grain on its way. We may get help from Kazakhstan, so the problems of the next few months seems to have been solved.

But this does not really help. The country has no final guarantees that we will be normally supplied with grain because we do not have any resources; our economy is virtually not functioning, either in the countryside or in the towns. I must also say that we are all tied up in politics, whether or not we are competent in such matters, and we have given up working. Living at the

expense and mercy of others always produces complex results and traumatic experiences. I have already expressed my view that all of us return to working for the economy, start working in agriculture, and give up passing the buck about this or that failure. We should start seriously searching for the causes of our problems and admit our own drawbacks and mistakes.

I think that if we follow this path and use our own reserves and resources more efficiently, sow every inch of a land which could give us a harvest, then maybe we will come out of this situation more easily. I do not want to say that our resources have been exhausted, and of course there are definite hopes for credits. There are hopes that the negotiations which took place in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and in some other countries will result in something, but this is a problem that has to be worked on, day in, day out. So I think that in the very near future, the situation must become better and this abnormal situation will end.

[Correspondent] Thank you. Mr. Shevardnadze, last week both parliament and the population witnessed a rather unpleasant debate. I am talking about the accusation and counter-accusation by the prime minister and the president of the National Bank. The Republican faction demanded the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers, and suggested that you combine the posts of head of state and prime minister. Also last week, Parliament adopted a resolution introducing the coupon as the sole legal tender on the territory of the republic. You have said on many occasions that you voted in favor of this resolution, but at the same time you are dissatisfied because you think the discussion of this issue should have continued for at least 10 days. We can say that the Cabinet of Ministers was the center of attention last week. You rejected the idea of forming a new cabinet. In this case, what measures are you going to take to change, improve the situation, in order to get rid of inertia in work?

[Shevardnadze] First of all, I would like to say a few words about this debate. I have already expressed my opinion about it and I would like to say again that we were a little hasty. This is because a study is under way to establish the expediency of the credits granted by decision of the president the National Bank. I am sure that there was no evil or fraudulent intention behind these decisions. Indeed, these decisions were made with the wish to bring more goods into the country, promote business, develop the banks, create new banking systems, and so on. However, I would not rule out that serious mistakes and irregularities were committed. We must establish all this in a composed and objective manner. The man on the rostrum cannot establish this, of course. The opposite opinion must be listened to and heeded.

This is why I would like to stress one thing. Nobody can work without mistakes today. The country is in such a state and such a complex situation has developed in the economy, in politics, in agriculture, and so on, that it is difficult to avoid making mistakes. The National Bank makes mistakes, the government also makes an awful lot of mistakes, the office of the head of state makes mistakes as well, quite a lot. I would not say that Parliament is immune to error. Parliament will probably [words indistincts] these mistakes. This is why we need to establish everything with a cool head and not blame each other. This is what I wanted to say in this connection.

Over now to the issue of the Cabinet and the demand for the resignation of the government. Of course, a motion of no-confidence in the government may be discussed in such circumstances. However, I look at this from a different perspective. Will it help? Will a new government work miracles and lead the country out of this crisis? First of all, this government and these authorities are new. They have been working for just a few months. We should take into account that many ministers are new and that they have used this time to study the situation and to determine their policy, line, and position. If there is another reshuffle, two or three months will be needed for the new people to study the situation and that will strain things even more. I would not rule out the replacement of certain figures in the government, starting at the highest level confirmed by Parliament, through to a relatively low level. However, the resignation of the government as it stands...

[Correspondent, interrupting] The whole government?

[Shevardnadze] The resignation of the whole government is not a way out. That would look like bloodletting. However, bloodletting could give us a breathing space today. But the situation may become even more tense and difficult tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow.

[Correspondent] It could be seen as a populist step to appease the population.

[Shevardnadze] If I make a decision on the resignation of the government, it will be a populist step on my part. I will take measures to protect myself and tell the people that I am right and that they are guilty. It may be a way out now, but what happens after five or six months? I know this because I have seen it done in practice. I think that such endless government resignations and resignation demands are immoral. I am speaking about a president sacrificing the cabinet in order to save his reputation and prestige. Unfortunately, this is common in world politics. However, I do not agree with this. My moral principles are against this.

Now to the issue of whether it is possible for a head of state to combine the leadership of the Cabinet, the post of prime minister, and so on. There was such a demand. Perhaps it was not groundless. I would not like to be interpreted as seeing any evil in this proposal. They are also looking for solutions. Of course, they are. Their proposal has some rationale behind it. But I responded to it by saying that this was physically impossible. Why was this proposal put forward? It was put forward because there is a need for better coordination; economic issues should be put in the global perspective, more coordination is needed when tackling financial issues.

That is why I think that they are sincere in putting forward a proposal that the head of state work more on these problems.

In order to implement this, I have have made a decision to set up a Supreme Economic Council under the head of state, which will have extensive functions and powers. Issues of global coordination, acute financial and banking problems, and economic recovery will become a topic of discussion at this Council. The head of state is charged with leading the Council. In my opinion this compromise is a better solution today. The future will show the results. But I did not deem it necessary now to resort to radical steps.

As for the coupon, the decision has now been made. All of us should be careful with it. We must strengthen it. You may ask, what does the population have to do with strengthening the coupon? The population and citizens should help us by working wherever it is possible. If there is electricity in factories and there are conditions for work there, they should be started up. All farmers, all peasants must be working. It should be happening everywhere. This would be the best way to strengthen the coupon.

This is one thing. The other issue which has been much talked about is investments and credits that would strengthen the coupon. We have some assurances. I would hate to fill the people with excessive hopes. However, we will also explore this avenue to strengthen the coupon. As I said, the decision came a little early. I may be wrong, although I believe I was right. The issue should have been given more consideration before it was put to the public and created further outcry. But it is our common illness. We are interested in making decisions as quickly as possible without thinking of the results. We must traverse this illness and it will pass.

[Correspondent] Mr. Shevardnadze, you said that a study of the activities of the bank was under way. However, there are rumors in Parliament and among the people to the effect that certain members of Parliament are behind those credits. I am asking you, as chairman of Parliament, that if something like this is established as a result of this study, how would you as a deputy respond?

[Shevardnadze] Do you know something? As I said regarding the president of the National Bank and the National Bank as a whole, I am ruling out fraudulent attitudes there. I believe there was a will...[Shevardnadze changes thought] Some operations may prove successful and some of them may fail. If even 15 percent of the operations are successful and if we are able to transfer money to one country or another and receive goods in return, that in itself is quite something.

Certain things really have been done in this regard. As for the question of who is behind these operations, I said the other day in Parliament: Let us place our hands upon our hearts and be sincere, all of us, including the president of the bank himself, and admit this: people are asking for credits with promises to import food and electricity. People are approaching me as well. There are businessmen and heads of agencies telling me that, if you give us credits we will import a certain amount of food, and on several occasions I have telephoned and asked that consideration be given to these requests. I am sure that Mr. Sigua is not entirely without some involvement in this. As far as I know, a lot has been done at his request.

Mr. Gotsiridze also had requests. None of us was doing this to enrich himself. We were all interested in importing as much food as possible. I know that 6,000 tonnes of butter was imported. A large amount of margarine, too. Some other foods as well. Tens of billions [currency not specified] were transferred to buy electricity. All this has been paid for with credits. I'm not trying to defend anyone. Perhaps there is some wickedness involved as well. Where did these credits go? What were they used for? This is why this study is necessary. You cannot just accuse one person. Everyone must share responsibility. For example, when there was uproar over the 102 billion [not further specified], someone imagined that this 102 billion was lying somewhere, and that someone else had taken it and brought it [as heard]. In fact this is not how it was. It was a definite banking risk which might have led to a good result. But nothing was lost through this failure. Georgia lost nothing but one sheet of paper. We must understand this and be objective.

One must be objective about whether or not one likes someone and about whether or not he is nice. One must always be objective in one's judgment of people.

[Correspondent] Thank you. Is there a power crisis in Georgia today?

[Shevardnadze] You are always asking hard questions. [laughter] Is there a power crisis in Georgia today? There is a general crisis, a general economic crisis, and not only an economic crisis. There is a political crisis in a certain sense. So there is a power crisis. What is the way out? Resignation? Reshuffle? As I said before, bloodletting? That is also possible. But I don't think that we will get the right result, the result of which we dream. All this takes time. It requires that we do not cause any artificial deepening of the confrontation and crisis in which our country now finds itself. One should not take pleasure in saying, I told you so. However, the country could not have averted the crisis. Even if there were people of genius in charge of all the ministries, we would not have averted this crisis in which we now find ourselves. That is why I think that some time is needed to deliberate and find a sensible program to enable us to emerge from this crisis. Such programs are taking shape. Some of them have been published. Some of them will be successful. Some of them will be unsuccessful. A crisis is a crisis because it is difficult to emerge from it, especially for a country that has been destroyed and plundered over the past five or six years. Anyone who was able to destroy and plunder did so.

[Correspondent] Mr. Shevardnadze, what motives do those parliamentary or nonparliamentary parties have—I have the National Liberation Party in mind—when they call for your resignation? Irakli Tsereteli [who called for Shevardnadze's resignation in the Georgian Parliament last week] says he does not want to come to power yet. He also speaks disparagingly of Gamsakhurdia's leadership. For whom do you think the chair of Georgia's executive ruler is being prepared, and who benefits from an unstable Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] I am dreaming of Mr. Irakli Tsereteli coming to power.

[Correspondent] It is still early days. It will happen in 20 years from now.

[Shevardnadze] Perhaps we could somehow ask him to come to power now? Maybe he will agree with the public demand, the mass demand?

[Correspondent] If you ask him...

[Shevardnadze, interrupting] I must say that everything should have a beginning and an end. If the head of state has to resign—I have said this many times before and I am repeating it now, even though I am told that I should not be saying it—there is no problem here. Neither Tsereteli nor others should waste their time and nerves on this issue. If people think Shevardnadze should resign, then he must go. I repeat that I will not show any resistance to anybody. If the public and people think that this is necessary today, then I think these irresponsible demands for resignation and endless gatherings, petitions, and applications, are unbecoming. Some kind of form should be found.

Let us ask the people, because probably the Parliament will not accept my resignation. If I were to ask for it, probably it would not agree, although we could try this. Besides, we could ask the public. I do not know what hardships people can live through that are worse than they are experiencing now, and at such times people can express the view—they may be wrong but they can still demand this—that this person should go and somebody else should take his place. Maybe something will change? I support this idea too. We could act like this. People and public should put it like this to Mr. Tsereteli—either we accept your proposal, or you stop talking, go to work, and do something useful for our society. This is a matter for him and for others too.

[Correspondent] Talking about such events, yesterday was 13 June and, as you probably remember, on that day a terrorist act took place in Chikovani Street [an attempt by Gamsakhurdia's supporters to assassinate Tengiz Kitovani in 1992]. We are seeing terrorism in politics, political terror; can it be because of people's belief that they can act with impunity that we are suffering from such events, such irresponsible events?

[Shevardnadze] The terrorism problem, I mean this literally, will be solved. I must say that although terrorism has not been eradicated yet, and the danger is still great, very great, it is nothing compared with what it used to be a year ago. The intelligence service and other competent internal and state bodies are doing much more work now to gradually reduce terrorism and eventually eradicate it altogether.

Political terrorism, however, is flourishing with us. It does not cost people anything to shoot at somebody who has nothing to do with (?politics) at all, who, let us say, cannot make money.

Take Mr. Irakli Tsereteli and his company and others who act like him. It is political terrorism to make unfounded charges and to issue discourteous statements which sometimes actually mean eliminating a personality, if that personality is responsible for the people and the country. I think this kind of terrorism is very dangerous now. It is not only Irakli who is involved in this but others as well, including people in the West and also, unfortunately, in Abkhazia.

I think one of the main duties of our society is to call everything by its name. Let us call everything by its name. If this or that statesman is worthless, then he should resign, should go; if this man needs unanimous support, then we must support him and denounce those who resort to the methods of political terror.

[Correspondent] A high-ranking delegation from Russia, which included the foreign minister, security minister, and deputy defense minister, visited Georgia last week. Do you think that Russian involvement in resolving the conflict in Abkhazia is still nessesary? I am using the word nessesary rather than desirable.

[Shevardnadze] I have spoken about the desirability of this on many occasions in the past. However, if we do not want to be out of touch with reality we must acknowledge that it is fruitless to talk of settling this conflict without Russia. If only I had thought like that we could have adopted another decision. You know that several UN delegations have arrived. There have been two UN Security Council resolutions. I have met the secretary general in person. We have weekly, almost daily, conversations. The United Nations thinks that this conflict cannot be resolved without Russia.

[Correspondent] This is also said at meetings of international organizations. This was also mentioned at the 10th NATO seminar held recently. [Shevardnadze] This is acknowledged everywhere, at every level. If we want to talk about the settlement of this conflict it would be irresponsible to ignore Russian participation. I would even say that if the conflict gets worse and is not settled, the hand of Russia would be there as well. That is why we should look at it realistically, not from populist and demagogical positions, but realistically. If we are interested in the territorial integrity of Georgia, and if we are genuinely thinking about our country's independence and freedom, about the settlement of the conflict and

starting a new life, I would ask everyone to look into this matter seriously, and to take into account facts and arguments which stem from the reality of life. Otherwise this conflict will not be settled.

We want a Georgian-Abkhazian dialogue. This is a relatively easy thing but it doesn't work unfortunately.

[Correspondent] In politics there is always a difference between what is desirable and what is possible. Mr. Shevardnadze, a special representative of the U.S. President, Mr. Talbott, has visited Tbilisi and had contacts with you and other officers, and last week you said the following in a television interview: There must be a new beginning in the serious discussion with Russia. What does this really mean? Does it imply that the West cannot fully appreciate either Georgian problems or Russia's role in them, and not only Georgian problems?

[Shevardnadze] This is a difficult issue. When I said recently that we should begin a serious discussion on our attitude toward Russia, Russia's role, and so on—I had not said it before—I said this taking into account the changes which are taking place in Russia. I am talking about the referendum, the strengthening of the president's position, our friends—in quotation marks—being relegated to the sidelines, and the work on a new constitution which is now under way, and which may create a new image of a democratic Russia if it is ever built. I am taking into account the unequivocal position of western civilization, I would say world civilization, which is to do business only with a democratic Russia, etc. These most important events taking place in Russia should not go unnoticed by us and should be taken into account. If we take this into account, something new may emerge in our policy and in our attitude toward Russia, and its role in the settlement of the conflict. I felt all these fine points during the talks with the delegation which arrived here. I am speaking about these fine points with a certain degree of reservation. This is not an unequivocal policy yet. However, I think the time has come when the Russian leadership has realistically arrived at a conclusion that it needs a united, strong, and democratic Georgia, as much as Georgia needs a worthy partner such as Russia. If this happens, though we need some time to be finally sure that it will happen, we can speak of certain subtle points and certain changes in our attitude, our policy toward Russia.

Can the West take everything into account today and be a full guarantor? [broadcast ends abruptly]

Shevardnadze Holds Talks With Armenian Prime Minister

LD1506183793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1505 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian parliament chairman and head of state, received today Armenian Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan, who is heading a government delegation from Armenia. They discussed energy and grain deliveries, prospects for the development of trade and economic cooperation in the light of a recent visit to Yerevan by a state delegation from Georgia, as well as other issues.

In response to a journalist's question about the conflict settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh, the prime minister said that Karabakh should become one of the negotiating parties. It looks as if this issue has already been resolved positively.

NATO Delegation Visits Defense Ministry

LD1506200993 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1445 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] A NATO delegation headed by Colonel Francesco Fino has, as we have already reported, been in Tbilisi for several days now. Yesterday, the guests were received in the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Georgia by Major General Avtandil Tskitishvili, chief of staff of the Georgian Armed Forces, who acquainted members of the delegation with the processes underway in the republic and also the problems facing the Georgian army. Particular attention was paid to the issue of settling the conflict in Abkhazia. The chief of staff of the Georgian Armed Forces presented the stance of the republic's leadership regarding this problem.

Members of the delegation thanked A. Tskitishvili for their welcome and announced that the NATO leadership will do everything they can to facilitate the process of establishing a single army in Georgia. In this context, it was proposed that in the near future, several Georgian officers should be sent to a NATO military academy for a period of study there.

In conclusion, both sides expressed their certainty that contacts between the largest international military bloc and Georgia will continue and will expand.

Estonia

Russian Delegation Protests Violations to Relations Pact

LD1506185593 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] The Russian co-chairman of a bilateral commission monitoring the observance of the agreement on mutual relations between Estonia and Russia said Estonia is failing to fulfill the agreement.

Nikolay Medvedev accused Estonia of violating the agreement at today's meeting with the Speaker of the Estonian parliament, Ulo Nugis, a parliamentary spokesman told the Baltic News Service. Medvedev, however, was unwilling to specify his accusations when asked by the parliament's speaker.

The Russian members of the commission at the meeting also tried to prove that Estonia is violating human rights. Further discussions showed that the approach of the two sides to the issues of human rights were different. The meeting was marked by [word indistinct] and (?reciprocal) [word indistinct]. Neverthless both sides agreed that talks on additional agreements under the main treaty must continue.

The Russian members of the monitoring commission, who arrived in Estonia yesterday, also had a meeting with Estonian President Lennart Meri. Talks with the Estonian leader dealt with the possibility of further developing the relations between the two countries. The sides also discussed the legal aspects of Estonian-Russian relations as well as the problems of Russians living in Estonia.

The Estonian president earlier had suggested to use the help of international mediators to overcome the (?central impasse) between the two countries. The Russian co-chairman of the commission said his country (?won't) rule out the possibility of turning to international mediators but only after the possibilities offered by bilateral negotiations have been exhausted.

Today the commission visited Estonia's northeastern industrial region.

Delegations Monitor Treaty Observance

LD1606091393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0830 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Kapov]

[Text] Narva June 16 TASS—Members of the joint control commission for monitoring the observance of the basic provisions of the treaty on interstate relations between Russia and Estonia signed in 1991, visited the north-east of the Estonian Republic on Tuesday.

The delegations, headed by Russian People's Deputy Nikolay Medvedev and Estonian politician Enna Leisson, held meetings with members of the Narva and Sillamyaz City Councils, representatives of trade unions, different parties and public organizations. This region is predominantly populated by non-Estonian origin.

Documents and specific incidents of violation of basic human rights, discrimination on the basis of nationality and the policy of ousting Russian-speaking citizens from the republic were handed over to both delegations.

Estonian law-makers and the Russian leadership were sharply criticised at these meetings.

Russia Hands Over Military Factories in Paldiski, Tallinn

WS1606102393 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 2004 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 15—Two Russian military factories have been turned over to Estonia's Ministry of Economics, the Minister of Reform, Liia Hanni, told a news conference on Tuesday [15 June].

Former numbered factories 7 and 8 are situated in Tallinn and Paldiski and will be reorganised into state-owned companies, Hanni added.

The ex-military ship repairing factory in Tallinn is a shipyard specialised on repairing submarines, fishing boats and cargo ships. It is a profit-making factory with good perspectives at the Baltic market, Hanni said.

Factory No 8 at Paldiski which has specialised in metal constructions building is in a less fortunate position and needs a new business plan. Ninety per cent of their orders still come from Russia and at very many cases no money has been transferred for services rendered, Hanni said. The easiest way out would be closing down the factory which, however, would leave 126 people unemployed, Hanni said. None of them are connected with the Russian military.

Radar Stations To Monitor Territorial Waters

PM1506143193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 1

[Valeriy Gromak report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "Estonian Radar Will Also Appear Near Lake Peipus"]

[Text] Tallinn—Estonian border guards have begun monitoring the country's territorial waters with the help of radar. At present two stations, located on the largest Estonian islands of Saaremaa and Hiiumaa, are operating.

The Estonian mass media report that radar stations will begin operating in the very near future on Naissaar Island near Tallinn, Pakri Island near Paldiski, and the Juminda Peninsula on the southern shore of the Gulf of

Finland. It is also planned to set up stations on the shore of Lake Peipus [Chudskoye ozero].

Lithuania

President, Mitterrand View Cooperation, Russian Troops

LD1606021893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2205 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris, 16 Jun—The situation in Lithuania, its relations with Russia and Poland, European integration and Vilnius' possible participation in it, as well as bilateral French-Lithuanian relations were the main topics discussed in the course of a meeting between French President Francois Mitterrand and Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas that took place on the night of 15 June here in Paris.

As A. Brazauskas reported to journalists after his meeting at the Elysee Palace, prospects for French enterprises' participation in reconstruction of the Lithuanian economy, for example, in the area of communications and other spheres, were some of the topics discussed in the course of his conversation with the French head of state. "We are ready to cooperate not only at the state level, but also at the private enterprise level," he said.

The Lithuanian president also stressed that he attached great importance to the issue of the Russian troop pullout from his country. "We are doing everything in our power to ensure that the Russian Armed Forces leave Lithuanian territory within the agreed deadline," he said. A. Brazauskas recalled that, in accordance with the Lithuanian-Russian agreement, the last Russian servicemen are to leave Lithuanian territory by 31 August 1993.

The Lithuanian president said the issue of relations with the European Community was also discussed in talks with the French head of state. A. Brazauskas noted that during his conversation with Mitterrand "it was acknowledged that at this stage Lithuania cannot be integrated into the European Community too fast."

"This should be done gradually, but we are determined to act along these lines," he said.

Brazauskas Says Nation Envies 'Visegrad' Countries

LD1506140393 Prague CTK in English 1036 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Vilnius, June 15—We envy a little bit the states of Central Europe from the Visegrad group, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas has told CTK. The Visegrad group comprises the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary and Poland.

They are much closer to attaining the goals which we have also set ourselves, including integration into all European structures. We support their effort at admission into the European Community (EC). They are showing us the path which we will also follow, but ours will be substantially longer, Brazauskas stressed.

He is convinced that Lithuania must learn much more from the experience accumulated over the past three years in Prague, Budapest and Warsaw. He thinks the present level of contacts with them is insufficient.

We are now in a situation when we know what reforms we want to carry out, but we must improve their realisation. Why should we experiment at any cost when there is already experience, only it needs to be adapted to our conditions, Brazauskas stressed. He said he was a convinced supporter of free trade. We have already concluded an agreement with Belarus, we have offered it to Russia and to the Baltic states, and now to Poland as well. Through it the road leads to the Czech Republic, Brazauskas pointed out.

Polish Defense Minister Signs Military Agreement

LD1506204093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] An agreement on military cooperation was signed today by the Lithuanian Ministry of National Defense and the Polish Ministry of Defense. The document was signed by Ministers Audrius Butkevicius and Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

The signing of this agreement was one of the most important aims of the visit by the Polish minister, which started yesterday. The preparation of the agreement lasted about a year. It provides for the constant maintenance of contacts between the Lithuanian and Polish military structures, coordination of actions in guarding state borders, and exchange of information. Experts for the Lithuanian national defense will be trained in Polish military schools.

Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz was received by Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius. He expressed the hope that the signed document would bring them closer to an agreement on good neighborliness and cooperation between Lithuania and Poland. Adolfas Slezevicius asked the minister to convey to the Polish prime minister that Lithuania was waiting for her visit.

Adolfas Slezevicius described to the guest the economic reform and efforts by the government to stop inflation and create prerequisites for the introduction of the litas. The integration of Lithuanian power engineering, transport, and other economy branches into the structures of Western countries, said the prime minister, was partly linked with the prospects of cooperation between Lithuania and Poland.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz noted that Poland was interested in the construction of the Via Baltica motorway and its soonest possible use.

Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas met with the Polish defense minister. He, too, positively assessed the signing of the agreement, wishing at the same time that cooperation between the neighbors continues to expand both in military, economic, and cultural fields. The seimas chairman described the work of parliament. Views were exchanged on the political situation in Lithuania and Poland.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz also met with Deputy Foreign Minister Virginijus Papirtis and Gediminas Kirkilas, the seimas national security committee chairman, and members of the committee.

Meetings with the head of the government, the seimas chairman, and others were attended by Minister of National Defense Audrius Butkevicius, Polish Ambassador to Lithuania Jan Widacki, Military Attache Colonel Andrzej Tirewicz, and members of the Polish delegation.

Visits Seimas

LD1506194493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] The visit of Polish Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz to Lithuania has continued. Today the minister paid a visit to the Seimas.

[Reporter] The Polish defense minister and his entourage met Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas. Mr. Onyszkiewicz said that the agreement on military cooperation signed today between Poland and Lithuania should [word indistinct] cooperation in the military and all other spheres. Mr. Onyszkiewicz expressed the hope that a state treaty between Poland and Lithuania will soon be signed. Poland will then have treaties with all its neighbors. Mr. Onyszkiewicz also said that through the cooperation of parliaments, it will be possible to achieve a great deal in extending and strengthening state relations between of Poland and Lithuania.

Ceslovas Jursenas acquainted the guest with the most important issues in today's work of the Seimas, and explained the division of power and [word indistinct] in Lithuania.

National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius, assessing today's agreement, said that the agreement [words indistinct], but it will pass the test of time, moreover, as it is supported by the majority of political forces in Poland. There are such political forces in Lithuania, too. Mr. Butkevicius said that the agreement provides for cooperation of various services; it embraces not only land but also sea. It provides for the training of experts, use of military hardware and [passage indistinct].

The Polish defense minister also said that he would not like today's agreement to hang in the air. Therefore it is expected that on 15 July, the anniversary of the Zalgiris battle [in 1410], representatives of the Lithuanian Ministry of National Defense will arrive in Poland, establish relations with airborne units, and with the mechanized division in Olsztyn which is deployed nearest to Lithuania. Possibilities for helping Lithuania will be defined more precisely. Although new elections are soon to take place in Poland, there is no doubt in parliament that cooperation with Lithuania is essential.

The Polish defense minister also met members of the Lithuanian Seimas National Security Committee.